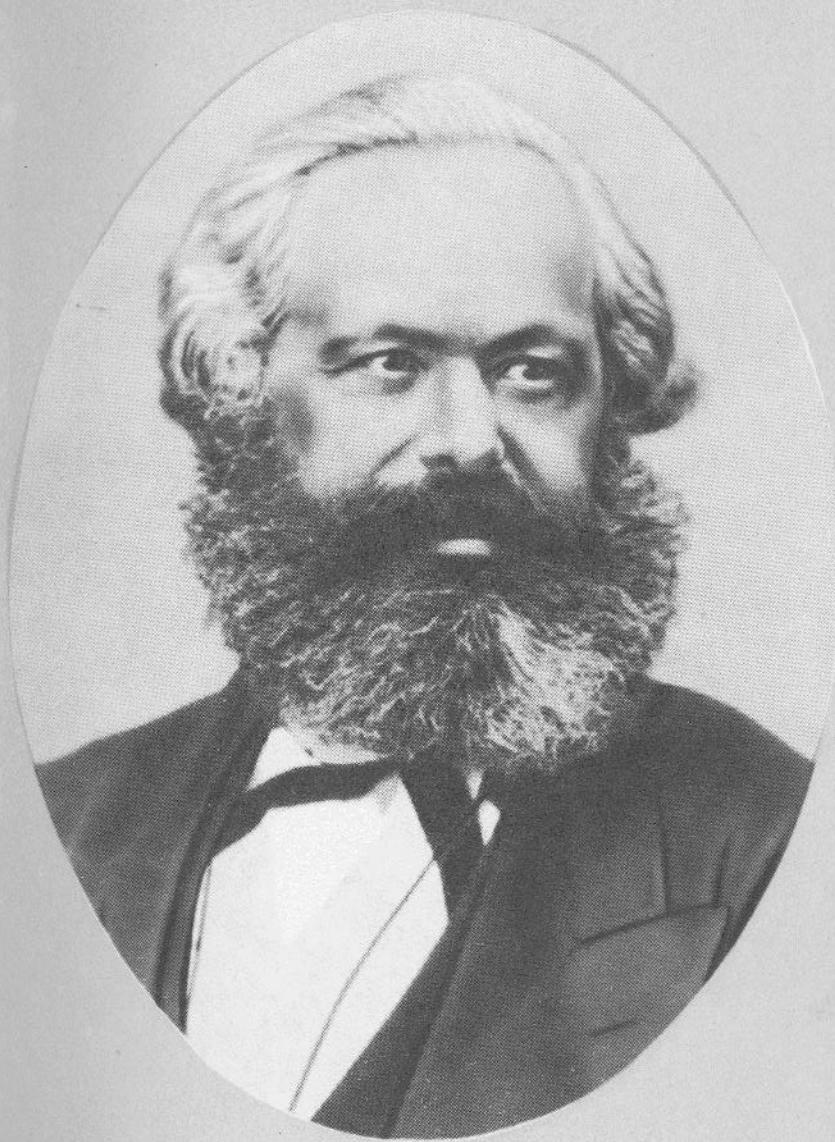


Workers of All Countries, Unite!



Karl Marx



J. Engels

Marx
and
Engels
on the
**United
States**



Progress Publishers, Moscow

Compiled by Nelly Rumyantseva
Designed by Victor Korolkov

К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс
О СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТАХ АМЕРИКИ
На английском языке

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From the 1840s on, the North American Republic was a constant source of interest to Marx and Engels. For decades they followed the course of events across the Atlantic, commented on them in the press and discussed them passionately in their letters to each other and to their correspondents, especially their American ones. Both carefully studied American history and the social, economic and political situation in the USA.

The present edition is the first attempt to assemble in a single volume the most important of the material written by Marx and Engels on the USA. The collection includes articles and letters reproduced either in full or in extract form, and also excerpts from their major works, speeches, reports and interviews.

This selection will give the reader a sufficiently comprehensive and many-sided idea of the views held by Marx and Engels on the position of the transatlantic republic at the time, and on its historical destiny and prospects of further development. There are references to the most important events in the political and social history of the USA at various stages of its development, with profiles of its leading politicians, scholars, scientists, economists and journalists. There is also a wealth of material on the economics of the USA, the Negro question, the history of the American working-class and the socialist movement.

Although a century has passed since Marx and Engels wrote most of the items included in this collection, their conclusions and observations are relevant to this day.

* * *

A reporter from *The Chicago Tribune*, who visited Marx at the end of 1878, wrote: "During my conversations I was struck with his intimacy with American questions which have been uppermost during the past twenty years. His knowledge of them, and the surprising accuracy with which he criticised our National and State legislation, impressed upon my mind the fact that he must have derived his information from inside sources."

Marx's library was indeed well stocked with a variety of literature on

the history and economics of the USA. It included the American Constitution and the constitutions of the different states, historical research works on various problems, the writings and memoirs of the leading political and government personalities in the USA, and so on. A special place in Marx's library was used for books on economic problems, all kinds of statistical abstracts, and reference works on the social and economic development of the USA.

US economics was a constant subject of study by Marx and Engels, but particularly Marx, who received from his American correspondents innumerable economic publications and official documents characterising the economics of the USA, all of which he studied with great care. This was particularly necessary for Vol. III of *Capital*, in which he was elaborating his theory of ground rent. Marx made extensive use in this work of the information he obtained about America and its economic development, and Engels was rightly able to observe that Marx's *Capital* would "give the economical history of that country, from a land of independent peasants to a centre of modern industry" (see p. 308).

The American periodical press was a most important source of information for Marx and Engels. Their friends regularly sent to London newspapers and journals of the most varied tendencies. It is clear from their letters that Marx and Engels were receiving up to thirty newspapers and journals from the USA. At the most critical times for America, such as the height of the Civil War of 1861-65, there was a considerable increase in the number of American newspapers being received and studied by them.

During his visit to the USA in August and September 1888 Engels obtained a wealth of interesting information about that country. He intended to write travel notes in which he would also give an outline of the social and political life over there. He did not, however, succeed in carrying out his plan. The extract published in the present collection was written on a steamer form and is the beginning of the intended work.

* * *

Marx and Engels were particularly interested in the two most important events in American history: the War of Independence fought against England by the 13 North American colonies (1775-83), and the Civil War (1861-65).

This was no accident, since it was these two events that determined the development of the USA for many years to come and also gave evidence of deep revolutionary traditions among the American people. Lenin also drew attention to this fact: "The American people have a

revolutionary tradition which has been adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat.... That tradition is the war of liberation against the British in the eighteenth century and the Civil War in the nineteenth century" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 69).

The present collection contains a truly scientific assessment of the first American revolution, as Marx and Engels called the War of Independence—an evaluation of its place and significance in the historical development of North America and its influence on that of the countries on the continent of Europe.

The British Government tried to obstruct the capitalist development of its North American colonies, to turn them into an object of colonial and financial extortion, and to use them as a market for its rapidly developing industry. Marx and Engels noted the dual aspect of the struggle by the North American colonies against this policy. The American colonists declared themselves in favour of abolishing the taxes which were obstructing their economic development, while, at the same time, these moves indicated a desire "to obtain control over taxes and legislation". By challenging the right of the British Parliament to burden the North American colonies with taxes, the insurgents also challenged the power of the metropolitan country over the colonies in general.

The first American revolution took the form of a War of Independence by the North American colonies on the British crown. Marx and Engels stressed its anti-colonial and popular character as a war of liberation. A similar assessment was given by Lenin, who called it "one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few compared to the vast number of wars of conquest" of previous centuries (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 62).

Marx and Engels considered that the special importance of the War of Independence lay in its far-reaching international repercussions. It was, they believed, this war which gave "the first impulse ... to the European revolution of the eighteenth century" (p. 168). They regarded the Declaration of Independence as one of the most important gains of the first American revolution. Passed by Congress in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, the Declaration informed the whole world of the foundation of an independent, "one great Democratic Republic" on the American continent (*ibid.*). It proclaimed the basic ideas of bourgeois democracy, the equality of all people, and their natural rights to life, freedom and happiness. It was, as Marx called it, "the first Declaration of the Rights of Man" (*ibid.*). At the same time, Marx and Engels clearly saw the class limitations of the Declaration, which kept the shameful institution of slavery in force. "...The American constitution," wrote Engels, "the first to recognise the rights of man, in the

same breadth confirms the slavery of the coloured races existing in America: class privileges are proscribed, race privileges sanctioned" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1977, p. 131).

Discussing the results of the American War of Independence, Marx commented that it "initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class" (p. 169). And, indeed, the first American revolution opened up wide prospects for the industrial, agricultural, technological, scientific and cultural growth of the USA.

A very important place is given in the collection to articles and letters by Marx and Engels on the American Civil War of 1861-65 which was, in its way, a form of bourgeois-democratic revolution. Marx and Engels closely followed the progress of events on the American continent and were the first to give a profoundly scientific analysis of the Civil War with its causes and motive forces and to reveal its world-wide historical significance.

Marx and Engels disclosed the true cause of the war, regarding it as a clash between two social systems: the capitalist system of hired labour that had become firmly entrenched in the Northern states, and the system of slavery that was predominant in the Southern states and was acting as a brake on the capitalist development of the country as a whole. The "movement of the slaves in America" which began with John Brown's raid (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1975, p. 114), was seen by Marx and Engels as a vivid manifestation of the crisis in the system of plantation slavery. Marx and Engels regarded the struggle against slavery as a vital cause of the working classes and repeatedly emphasised that the existence of slavery in the Southern states was acting as a brake on the successful development of the American working-class movement. They pointed out that as long as the labour of the Negroes was so shamefully exploited, that of the whites would never be emancipated either (p. 259).

Marx and Engels considered that the war against Negro slavery in the USA would inaugurate the era of the rise of the working class in the same way that the American War of Independence at the end of the eighteenth century had opened the era of the rise of the bourgeoisie (p. 169). It was in this above all that they saw the world-wide historical significance of the American Civil War, considering that if the reactionary forces of the American slave-holding planters, who were also supported by the counter-revolutionary ruling circles of the European capitalist states, were destroyed, this would be very much in the interests of the European and American working class. In the opinion of Marx and Engels, such a war was bound to become popular and revolutionary in character.

At the very outset of the American Civil War, Marx and Engels came

to the conclusion that the so-called Secession movement was "all usurpations" on the part of the narrow oligarchy of slave-holding planters and that even in the Deep South of North America there was "everywhere the strongest opposition to secession" (p. 178). "The war of the Southern Confederacy," Marx wrote, "is ... not a war of defence, but a war of conquest, a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery" (p. 93).

Weighing up the chances of the embattled sides, Marx and Engels considered that the progressive social system was bound to win, and this meant the Northern states. Although, in the first months of the war, the scales tipped in favour of the slave-owning South, which had made advance preparations for the war and had experienced military personnel at its disposal, Marx said: "In the long run the North will of course win, for should the need arise it can play its trump card, a slave revolution" (p. 172).

Analysing the causes of the North's military failures, which took a particularly ominous turn in the middle of 1862, Marx and Engels ruthlessly denounced the cowardly and indecisive policy of the North American big bourgeoisie which was afraid to let the war have the character of a consistent and truly revolutionary struggle against slavery. Describing the North's actual mode of conducting the war, Marx wrote that it was "only to be expected from a *bourgeois* republic in which fraud has so long reigned supreme" (pp. 191-92) and which was endeavouring to run the war on a basis of compromise with the Southern slave-owners, but could not bring itself to proclaim the abolition of slavery. "If the North does not at once act in a revolutionary fashion, it will get hell of a hiding" (p. 189), this was how Engels summed up the situation in the summer of 1862. The onset of the inevitable breakthrough in the course of the military operations was put down by Marx and Engels to the fact that the industrial regions of the North, New England and the North-west, which had supplied the army with its main reserves of manpower, had decided to force the government to adopt a revolutionary mode of conducting the war and to write "The Abolition of Slavery" on the Stars and Stripes as a battle slogan (p. 149). They believed that to grant the Negroes the right to fight in the army of the North would be a particularly effective military and political measure. "A single Negro regiment," wrote Marx to Engels, "would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves" (p. 190).

Marx and Engels warmly welcomed Abraham Lincoln's proclamation on the emancipation of Negroes owned by the planters who had taken part in the rebellion, and also a number of bourgeois-democratic measures. Marx described Lincoln's proclamation as the most important document "in American history since the establishment of the Union" (p. 155). This document signified the transition to a new stage in the

American Civil War—to a war of a revolutionary kind.

✓ Marx gives a vivid profile of Lincoln, a man of the people, "the single-minded son of the working class" (p. 169). He stresses the complete absence of affectation, bombast and hypocrisy in everything that Lincoln did. He was "one of the rare men", wrote Marx, "who succeeded in becoming great, without ceasing to be good" (p. 170). This was a man who did "his titanic work humbly and homely" (*ibid.*). While admitting the bourgeois limitations of certain of Lincoln's moves, Marx had a very high opinion of his actions, emphasising that "Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and of mankind will nevertheless be next to that of Washington" (p. 156).

An important place in the articles and letters of Marx and Engels is given to clarifying the course of events in the Civil War. The strategic plans of the North, as put forward by McClellan, the Commander-in-Chief, were severely criticised by Marx and Engels as being alien to the very nature of a revolutionary war. In his letters and articles, Engels reviews in detail the most important battles fought in the Civil War and the strategy and tactics of the two opposing sides, giving thumbnail sketches of the military and political personalities of the North and the South.

Invariably noting the progressive nature of the war as waged by the North, Marx and Engels also clearly saw the limitations and falsity of American bourgeois democracy, the inconsistency of the American (especially the commercial and financial) bourgeoisie, and its direct interest in preserving the remnants of slavery. It was no accident, as Marx put it, that New York, which was the "seat of the American money market" and teemed "with mortgagees of plantations situated in the South", just before and during the Civil War was the main bulwark of the Democratic Party, which strove for compromise with the slave-owners (p. 163). This comment by Marx on the inconsistency of the bourgeoisie is of vital importance for an understanding of the subsequent course of events in the USA—the preservation of racial discrimination to this day and the national and social oppression.

Marx and Engels immediately noticed the anti-democratic and sometimes openly counter-revolutionary tendencies shown by the ruling circles in the USA after the end of the Civil War. Their letters give a penetrating outline of the policy adopted by Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln when the latter was assassinated by a stooge of the slave-owning planters. This policy, reflecting the Northern big bourgeoisie's desire for union with the Southern planters who had been defeated during the war, constituted a threat to many of the democratic gains achieved by the American working people by dint of bitter struggle.

In spite of Johnson's policy, the American Congress was forced by public pressure to introduce martial law in the South and undertake a

series of measures, the Reconstruction as it was called, against the former slave-owners.

Marx and Engels always considered it one of the most important tasks of proletarian revolutionaries to denounce the undercover machinations of bourgeois diplomacy and the reactionary designs of the ruling classes against the revolutionary-democratic and national liberation movements. They adopted the same position during the American Civil War. Consequently, when there was a real threat of armed conflict between Britain and the Northern states as a result of the American detention of the British packetboat *Trent*, Marx published a series of articles denouncing the foreign policy of the English ruling oligarchy which, in spite of its avowed neutrality, was secretly supporting the Southern rebels and was preparing for armed intervention against the North and for the defence of the slave-owning planters. The articles on the Anglo-American conflict played an important role in educating the workers of different countries in the spirit of internationalism and taught them how to work out and hold their own revolutionary line in international conflicts. Marx and Engels set great store by the internationalist stand of the English workers during the American Civil War, their anti-interventionist demonstrations, which disrupted the plans of the ruling classes.

Marx and Engels constantly stressed the revolutionising influence of the American Civil War on the development of the democratic and working-class movement in Europe.

A very high evaluation of the Civil War of 1861-65 was given by Lenin, who stressed its "immense, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance". Noting the importance of the second American bourgeois revolution, Lenin wrote: "...for the sake of overthrowing Negro slavery, of overthrowing the rule of the slave-owners, it was worth letting the country go through long years of civil war, through the abysmal ruin, destruction and terror that accompany every war" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, pp. 69-70).

* * *

The items included in this collection illustrate the close attention paid by Marx and Engels to the social-economic development of the USA. In 1878, Marx wrote to the Russian economist Nikolai Danielson: "The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the U. States.... Transformations—which to be elaborated did require in England centuries—were here realised in a few years" (p. 273). As early as 1845, in his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Engels had observed that the USA was a country which, thanks to its

rapid development, was adapted "to holding a monopoly of manufacture" (p. 42).

Marx and Engels gave a profound and objective explanation for the causes of the rapid economic development and growing prosperity of the USA in the nineteenth century, and thus they refuted the legend of American capitalism's "exceptionalism".

Above all, they attributed special importance to the two American revolutions which had cleared the way for the spectacular development of capitalism and had facilitated the rise of the USA to become one of the world's most advanced countries.

It was also important for the development of American capitalism that its emergence took place on a vast continent that had never known the feudal restrictions that hampered the development of the European countries.

During the holocaust of the Civil War and the bitter political struggle that ensued in the years of the Reconstruction, the power of the slave-owning planter aristocracy was smashed and the latifundia were abolished. The destruction of these, together with the passing of a law on the free distribution of the land from a public fund to anyone willing to work on it, signified a victory on a nation-wide scale for the American way of developing agriculture. "...It was not the old slave-holding economy of the big landowners that became the basis of capitalist agriculture (the Civil War smashed the slave-owners' estates)," wrote Lenin, assessing the significance of the upheaval accomplished in the US economy during the Civil War of 1861-65, "but the free economy of the free farmer working on free land—free from all medieval fetters, from serfdom and feudalism..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 140).

The taming of the Wild West, before and especially after the Civil War, was of enormous importance in the economic and social history of the USA. Many thousands of American working people were given a real opportunity to apply their labour, energy and initiative to tilling their own land. The consequent rise in the standard of living for a certain part of the farming population stimulated the further growth of the US internal market. The existence of a huge solvent home market and its steady expansion, which Marx and Engels noted as early as at the end of the 1850s, was one of the main factors promoting the rapid development of American industry.

In the mid-1840s, Marx drew attention to the great importance of the free lands in the American West for the development of capitalism, but he also severely censured the views held by the representatives of the petty-bourgeois elements among the National Reformers, particularly by the German immigrant Hermann Kriege, a "true socialist",

who was inclined to regard the free lands as an economic base for creating, right inside a country as capitalist as the USA, something after the manner of a society without poverty, need, crime and exploitation (pp. 44-46). Illusions were widespread in America about the possibility of using the free lands for the establishment of farms without capitalist exploitation. Those supporting the theory of the "exceptionalism" of the USA's development are to this day trying to show that there are still, over a considerable part of the country, free farms which, it is claimed, are not an object of capitalist exploitation. Marx proved the total groundlessness of such claims.

In the letters from Marx and Engels to their American correspondents and in Marx's *Capital*, there is proof that the views which were held by the American economist Henry George and which were popular in the USA during the 70s were theoretically untenable. He proposed nationalising the land while maintaining the bourgeois system and state as a panacea for all the evils of capitalism. Marx demonstrated that the nationalisation of the land, under conditions when capitalist private ownership of the basic means of production remains intact, is a measure which does not go beyond the framework of bourgeois relations, and he assessed such views as an attempt to save capitalist system.

The mass flow of immigrants to America was of great importance for the development of capitalism on that continent. In January 1882 Marx and Engels wrote in their preface to the Russian edition of their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "Precisely European immigration fitted North America for a gigantic agricultural production, whose competition is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. In addition it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England, existing up to now" (p. 256).

An important part in the spectacular capitalist development of the USA was also played by the considerable influx of capital from outside. Marx and Engels drew attention to this as early as in the 50s, considering "a great outflow of European capital to the United States, which in part arrived with the immigrants themselves and in part was invested from Europe in American government stock" (p. 56), as one of the conditions for the "necessarily rapid and more rapidly growing prosperity" of the country (p. 69).

Parallel with the flow of manpower from Europe to America and the existence of a vast and solvent home market, the rapid development of the American economy, according to Marx and Engels, was in many respects facilitated by the wealth of mineral resources and the country's advantageous geographical position.

Marx and Engels stressed many times that such qualities of the

American people as their energy, initiative, industriousness and flair for business, worked for the rapid economic development of the country.

While revealing these aspects of the development of the American economy, Marx and Engels said that the USA's development was governed by the common laws of capitalist development. In spite of the claims by the apologists for American capitalism, who preached the theory of "exceptionalism", Marx and Engels asserted that there "the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order" (p. 281).

Thanks to their study of statistical handbooks and other literature, they had every grounds for affirming that "social inequality" in the USA was emerging "more harshly" (p. 47) and the enslavement of the working class was taking place "more rapidly and more shamelessly than in any other country" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 323). At the same time, Engels again stressed that "the causes that brought into existence the abyss between the working class and the capitalist class are the same in America as in Europe; the means of filling up that abyss are equally the same everywhere" (p. 285).

Marx and Engels refuted outright any attempts to depict the USA as a country devoid of class conflict and any endeavours to represent its capitalist realities as a model of harmonious and conflict-free social development. Of great interest in this connection is the severe criticism levelled by Marx against the American economist H. C. Carey's views, his own version of the theory of American capitalism's "exceptionalism". Marx denounced Carey as an apologist for capitalism who was trying, with capitalist America as an example, to play down its contradictions with spurious claims about the harmony and cooperation of the classes as the allegedly most important prerequisites for the normal existence of the capitalist society. Marx discredited Carey's attempts to explain the origin of the social disasters under capitalism by secondary and derivative phenomena when they were, in fact, rooted in the very foundations of exploitation as a system.

It can be seen from the material in the present collection that Marx and Engels also gave attention to capitalist production's new processes and qualitative changes, which had begun to make themselves felt in the US economy with great force in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The process of concentration in industry, railway transport and banking was striding ahead in "seven-league boots". In a letter written in April 1879 to Nikolai Danielson, Marx said that the railways were "the basis of the immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all other sorts of joint-stock companies, to commence with banking companies" (p. 274). It was they, according to Marx, which gave the impetus to "fabulous concentration of capitals" (p. 256) and the emergence in the country of an "oligarchy

of associated capital" (p. 272).

In his article "Presidential Election in America", Engels notes the increase of cartels and trusts in the American economy which were ruining the small manufacturers and ruthlessly exploiting the working masses. Engels gave a particularly vivid description of the American monopolies and their founders in his article "The Concentration of Capital in the United States" (pp. 257-58).

Describing the American economy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels noted the sporadic nature of its development, the growing political influence of the monopolies, the flourishing of speculation, especially in land, of corruption and crooked dealings, the further swing to the right of the ruling classes, and their transition to an open policy of repression and the use of force on members of the working-class movement.

Indeed, as the USA advanced along the road of economic progress and as the bourgeois class began to consolidate its economic and political positions, the most sordid aspects of the bourgeois society began to manifest themselves and its class-limited nature as a republic of capitalist businessmen began to show more and more clearly (p. 329). Emphasising the bourgeois nature of American democracy, Engels regarded the USA as the model country of democratic swindle (p. 202). "...we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends, and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians, who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality dominate and plunder it" (p. 298-99).

The 1870s and 1880s also saw a marked swing in the political development of the USA towards the consolidation of the military-bureaucratic tendency in state administration, and this was pointed out by Marx and Engels alike. As early as June 1865, soon after the end of the Civil War, Marx had written to Engels: "The reaction has already begun in America and will soon be greatly strengthened" (p. 211). To quote Lenin, who closely followed the development of American capitalism under the new conditions at the turn of the century, the upshot of this process was that the USA "have completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and suppress everything" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 420-21).

* * *

Many pages in this collection are devoted to the American labour and socialist movement. In giving ideological guidance to the interna-

tional working-class movement, Marx and Engels carefully studied its development in the USA. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie in the USA and in other countries, spreading the myth that the American republic "stood above class antagonisms and struggles" (p. 307), claimed that "where there is a real republic, there is no poverty and no labour movement" (p. 313). The vigorous actions of the American workers, especially from the end of the 1870s to the beginning of the 1890s and their endeavours to create their own class organisation, proved to the whole world the inviability of such claims.

Marx and Engels analyse in depth the characteristics of the American working class and its movement. They noted that the working class could be divided into two parts: the native-born Americans, and the immigrants, and the relations between them were in a permanent state of change.

The standard of living and the legal position of these two component parts were very different. The native-born American workers were, in effect, the aristocracy of the American working class. In his letters, Engels repeatedly stressed the "aristocratic posture" of the native-born workers. But the heaviest, least skilled and most badly paid work fell to the lot of the immigrants. Their plight was aggravated still further not only by hostility from the native-born Americans, but by bitter national hostility between the different sections of the immigrants themselves. "These immigrants," wrote Engels to Hermann Schlüter, "are divided into different nationalities and understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country" (p. 328). National discord and enmity were cultivated in every possible way by the American bourgeoisie which, as Engels estimated, "knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other" (*ibid.*). This seriously obstructed the emergence of a stable core of permanent workers held together by many years of employment at the same enterprise.

Engels also pointed to the considerably improved material position of the American workers compared with that of their cousins in Europe owing to a number of reasons of an economic nature. In a letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge, he flatly declared that this position was due to "economic success and predominantly peaceful political development" (p. 329). All these circumstances resulted in a low standard of ideological and organisational development among the American workers, the considerable influence on them of bourgeois ideology, and the extremely slow infiltration of socialist ideas into the minds of the proletariat of this great capitalist power. It was this that gave grounds for the claims by the American bourgeois ideologists that "socialism was a thing of

foreign importation which could never take root on American soil" (p. 283).

However, in spite of all these unfavourable conditions for the development of a class proletarian movement, the American workers, demonstrating an awakening understanding of their class interests, displayed many examples of active and resolute struggle with the forces of reaction. Marx and Engels closely followed all the signs of growing political consciousness and organisation among the American workers, and also every move they made.

The foundation of the sections of the First International was a sign of the considerable successes achieved by the working-class movement in the USA. Marx and Engels lent vigorous support to the revolutionary proletarian elements in the American sections of the IWA in their struggle with bourgeois reformists who were trying to gain control of the International's American organisations and use them to their own ends. The day-to-day assistance given by Marx and Engels to the most progressive personalities in the American working-class movement is seen most vividly in the letters to Friedrich Adolph Sorge.

Marx and Engels gave the leaders of the International's American sections the main task of attracting American workers into the ranks of the Association and warned them against breaking away from the masses and against sectarian exclusiveness and stressed the necessity for them to fight in order to overcome national and local dissension in the American working men's movement. "You must try to win the Trades Unions over at all costs," wrote Marx to Karl Speyer, a member of the IWA in America. In a letter of November 23, 1871, to Friedrich Bolte, another American member of the International, Marx pointed out ways of creating a mass working men's political organisation in the USA: "Where the working class is not yet far enough advanced in its organisation to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power, of the ruling classes, it must at any rate be trained for this by continual agitation against this power and by a hostile attitude toward the policies of the ruling classes" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 255).

By the mid-1870s, the First International had accomplished its mission, having laid the theoretical and organisational foundations for the formation of independent socialist parties in the different countries. "Marx's doctrine gained a complete victory and began to spread. The selection and mustering of the forces of the proletariat and its preparation for the coming battles made slow but steady progress," wrote Lenin, outlining the main tasks and trends of development for the working-class movement after the First International had ceased to function (*Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 585). This process was also successfully under way in the USA.

The historical peculiarities of the USA's development were creating extremely complex conditions, as Engels put it, for the formation of a truly mass working men's party in that country. He wrote: "American conditions involve very great and peculiar difficulties for a steady development of a workers' party" (p. 333). At the same time, he referred to the biparty system, which had predominated in the USA for many years and which enabled the ruling classes to obstruct the development of a strong third party (pp. 333-34).

Marx and Engels considered, however, that the further development of capitalism in the USA was bound to cause shifts in the working-class movement. "It is the revolutionising of all traditional relations by industry *as it develops* that also revolutionises people's minds" (p. 329). The hopes of the two leaders of the world proletariat were being fulfilled. The second half of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s were noteworthy in the USA for powerful action on the part of the American working class. "The working-class movement, in America," wrote Engels, "has started with truly American vigor", "with the rapidity of a prairie-fire" and "would shake American society to its very foundations" (pp. 282 and 283). The working-class movement in the USA gave rise to many glorious proletarian traditions, and one of them achieved international recognition: it was the workers of America who instituted the celebration of May 1st as a day of international solidarity among the toilers of countries all over the world.

Noting the spontaneity of the movement developing in the USA, Engels emphasised in his letters to his American correspondents the special need to spread the ideas of scientific socialism throughout the USA. He regarded this as one of the most important and vital prerequisites for the formation of a truly proletarian party. Engels pointed out that the American workers, "whose thinking is still entirely at the middle-class stage" (p. 306), were in special and mounting danger of being influenced by trade-unionist views which were a serious obstacle to the development of class consciousness.

In revolutionising their minds and inculcating a socialist awareness among the masses of the American workers, Marx and Engels allotted an important role to the American socialists. But, as represented by the Socialist Labor Party of North America, these did not cope with the tasks entrusted to them. Marx and Engels criticised the American socialists for breaking away from the practical struggle of the American proletariat, for their reluctance to work in its mass trades organisations and for their attempts to ignore the specific features of American conditions and the American working-class movement of that time.

As a result of this attitude, the US Socialist Labor Party, although the main propositions of scientific socialism had been included in its programme, remained a numerically insignificant group with no support

from the native-born American workers. Analysing the causes behind the weakness of the SLP, Engels stressed that the lack of contact with the masses was the result of dogmatism and sectarian attempts to impose theoretical propositions on the working class without allowing for the specific conditions of their struggle and the level of development achieved by their movement. From the attitude adopted by Marx and Engels to the US Socialist Labor Party, it is clear that among the most important negative phenomena of that time according to them were the socialists' breakaway from the practical struggle of the working class, sectarian disregard for the vital interests of the workers and attempts to reduce the essence of Marxism, a teaching that is always vital and always developing, to a set of rigid formulas and dogmas.

Under these conditions, Marx and Engels placed great hopes on the small American group of Marxists headed by Friedrich Adolph Sorge. These were the ones who would help the workers to understand what a mighty force they would have at their disposal when they had created their own real mass proletarian party. In January 1895, Engels wrote to Hermann Schliuter that as soon as in Europe and America "the workers realise what they want, they will gain possession of the state, the land, industry, and everything".

After Marx and Engels, Lenin also devoted much attention to the American working-class movement, expressing the conviction that it must inevitably grow and that, as it advanced, it would overcome its inherent weaknesses and shortcomings and would be a powerful factor ensuring the progressive development of its homeland. Faith in the potentialities and powers of the American working class can be heard in Lenin's words to the effect that "the American revolutionary workers have to play an exceptionally important role as uncompromising enemies of American imperialism—the freshest, strongest..." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 62). This observation is still entirely relevant to our own times.

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The works and letters in this collection are printed in chronological order. The date when written and that of first publication are given at the end of each item, where it is also indicated which texts were originally written in English.

All the texts have been translated from the German unless otherwise stated.

When items and extracts included in this collection have been previously published in English by Progress Publishers, this is indicated at the end of the item.

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Karl Marx
and
Frederick Engels

1846 TO 1860

Frederick Engels

From DESCRIPTION OF RECENTLY FOUNDED
COMMUNIST COLONIES STILL IN EXISTENCE¹

When one talks to people about socialism or communism, one very frequently finds that they entirely agree with one regarding the substance of the matter and declare communism to be a very fine thing; "but", they then say, "it is impossible ever to put such things into practice in real life". One encounters this objection so frequently that it seems to the writer both useful and necessary to reply to it with a few facts which are still very little known in Germany and which completely and utterly dispose of this objection. For communism, social existence and activity based on community of goods, is not only possible but has actually already been realised in many communities in America and in one place in England, with the greatest success, as we shall see.

Incidentally, if one goes into this objection somewhat more deeply, one finds that it is made up of two further objections; these are, firstly: no workers would be prepared to carry out the menial and unpleasant manual tasks; and secondly, with everyone having an equal claim to the communal possessions, people would quarrel about these possessions, and in this way the community would break up again. The first objection is overcome very simply, as follows: these tasks, being now within the community, are no longer menial; and furthermore they can be almost entirely dispensed with by improved facilities, machines and so forth. For instance, in a large hotel in New York, the boots are cleaned by steam, and in the communist colony at Harmony in England (see below) not merely are the water-closets, which are so conveniently fitted out in the English fashion, cleaned automatically, but they are also provided with pipes which take the waste directly to the great dung-pit.—Regarding the second objection, however, all communist colonies so far have become so enormously rich after ten or fifteen years that they have everything they can desire in greater abundance than they can consume, so that no grounds for dispute exist.

The reader will discover that most of the colonies that will be described in this article had their origins in all kinds of religious sects most of which have quite absurd and irrational views on various issues; the author just wants to point out briefly that these views have nothing whatsoever to do with communism. It is in any case obviously a matter of indifference whether those who prove by their actions the practicability of communal living believe in *one* God in twenty or in none at all; if

they have an irrational religion, this is an obstacle in the way of communal living, and if communal living is successful in real life despite this, how much more feasible must it be with others who are free of such insanities. Of the more recent colonies, almost all are in any case quite free of religious nonsense, and nearly all the English Socialists are despite their great tolerance quite without religion, for which very reason they are particularly ill-spoken of and slandered in sanctimonious England. However, when it comes to providing proof, even their opponents have to admit that there is no foundation for all the evil things that are said of them.

The first people to set up a society on the basis of community of goods in America, indeed in the whole world, were the so-called Shakers. These people are a distinct sect who have the strangest religious beliefs, do not marry and allow no intercourse between the sexes, and these are not their only peculiarities of this kind. But this does not concern us here. The sect of the Shakers originated some seventy years ago. Its founders were poor people who united in order to live together in brotherly love and community of goods and to worship their God in their own way. Although their religious views and particularly the prohibition on marriage deterred many, they nevertheless attracted support and now have *ten large communities*, each of which is between three and eight hundred members strong. Each of these communities is a fine, well laid-out town, with dwelling houses, factories, workshops, assembly buildings and barns; they have flower and vegetable gardens, fruit trees, woods, vineyards, meadows and arable land in abundance; then, livestock of all kinds, horses and beef-cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry, in excess of their needs, and of the very best breeds. Their granaries are always full of corn, their store-rooms full of clothing materials, so that an English traveller* who visited them said he could not understand why these people still worked, when after all they possessed an abundance of everything; unless it was that they worked simply as a pastime, having nothing else to do. Amongst these people no one is obliged to work against his will, and no one seeks work in vain. They have no poor-houses and infirmaries, having not a single person poor and destitute, nor any abandoned widows and orphans; all their needs are met and they need fear no want. In their ten towns there is not a single gendarme or police officer, no judge, lawyer or soldier, no prison or penitentiary; and yet there is proper order in all their affairs. The laws of the land are not for them and as far as they are concerned could just as well be abolished and nobody would notice any difference for they are the most peaceable citizens and *have never yielded a single criminal for the prisons*. They enjoy, as we said, the

* John Finch.—*Ed.*

most absolute community of goods and have no trade and no money among themselves. One of these towns, Pleasant Hill near Lexington in the State of Kentucky, was visited last year by an English traveller named Finch, who gives the following description of it.

"Pleasant Hill consists of a great number of large, handsome hewn stone and brick houses, manufactories, workshops, farm buildings, all in the neatest order, some of the best in Kentucky; the Shaker farm-land was easily known by the fine stone wall fences by which it was enclosed, and by its superior cultivation; a great number of fat cows and sheep were grazing in the fields, and numerous fat swine were picking up fallen fruit in the orchards. The Shakers possess nearly four thousand acres of land here, of which about two-thirds is under cultivation. This colony was commenced by a single family about the year 1806; others joined afterwards and they gradually increased in numbers; some brought a little capital and others none at all. They had many difficulties to contend with, and suffered many privations at the first, being generally very poor persons; but by diligence, economy and temperance, they have overcome all and now have a great abundance of everything and owe nothing to any man. This Society consists at present of about three hundred individuals, out of which some fifty to sixty are children under sixteen years of age. They have no masters—no servants; far less do they have slaves; they are free, wealthy and happy. They have two schools, a Boys' and a Girls' School, in which are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and the principles of their religion; they do not teach science to the children as they believe science is not necessary to salvation. As they tolerate no marriages, they would inevitably die out, if new members were not always joining them; but although the prohibition on marriage deters many thousands and many of their best members leave again for that reason, so many new members nevertheless still come that their number constantly increases. They rear livestock and variously cultivate the fields, and themselves produce flax, wool and silk, spinning and weaving them in their own manufactories. What they produce in excess of their needs, they sell or exchange amongst their neighbours. They generally labour from sunrise to sunset. The board of trustees keeps all the books and accounts in a public office, and the books are open for all members to see, as often as they choose. They do not know themselves how wealthy they are, as they never take account of their stock; they are satisfied to know that all they have is their own, for they are in debt to no one. All they do is to make out a list of the debts their neighbours have with them once a year.

"The Church is divided into five families (divisions) of from forty to eighty in each; each family has a separate domestic establishment and lives together in a large, handsome mansion; and *all get every article required, and as much as they want from the common stores of the Society, and without any payment.** A deacon is appointed to each family, whose business is to see that all are provided with everything they *want*, and to *anticipate* their wants as far as possible. They all clothe in Quaker-fashion—plain, clean and neat; they have a *great variety* of articles of food and all of the *very best description*. If a new member seeks admission, he must, according to the laws of the Society, give up everything he has to the community and is never allowed to claim it back, even if he leaves; nevertheless it is their practice to give back to each as much as he brought in. If a person leaves who has brought in no capital, he is not allowed by the laws to claim any thing for services either, as he has been fed and clothed at general expense whilst he was working; nevertheless it is their custom in this case too to

* Here and below italics in quotations are given by Engels.—*Ed.*

make parting presents to every person if they leave in a kind and proper manner.

"Their government is established in the manner of the first Christians. There is a male and a female minister in each Society, and each has an assistant. These four ministers are the highest power in the whole Society and decide all cases of contention. There are also two elders in each family of the Society, with two assistants and a deacon or administrator. The property of the Society is vested in the board of trustees, which consists of three persons, oversees the whole establishment, directs labour and carries on transactions with neighbours. They have no power to buy or sell any land without the consent of the Society. There are of course also foremen and managers in each department of labour; however they have made it a rule that no commands are ever given by any one, but all are to be persuaded by kindness."²

Another colony of Shakers, New Lebanon in the State of New York, was visited by a second English traveller, by the name of Pitkeithly, in the year 1842. Mr. Pitkeithly most thoroughly inspected the whole town, which numbers some eight hundred inhabitants and owns between seven and eight thousand acres of land, he examined its workshops and factories, its tanneries, sawmills and so on, and declares the whole arrangement to be *perfect*. He too is surprised at the wealth of these people who began with nothing and are now becoming richer with each passing year, and he says:

"They are happy and gay among themselves; there is no quarrelling but on the contrary friendliness and love prevail throughout their habitation, in every part of which reigns an orderliness and regularity which have not their equal."³

So much regarding the Shakers. As we said, they enjoy complete community of goods and have ten such communities in the United States of North America.

Apart from the Shakers, however, there are other settlements in America based on community of goods. In particular the *Rappites* are to be mentioned here. *Rapp* is a minister from Württemberg who in about 1790 dissociated himself and his congregation from the Lutheran Church and, being persecuted by the government, went to America in 1802. His followers went after him in 1804, and thus he settled in Pennsylvania with about one hundred families. Their combined fortune amounted to about 25,000 dollars, and with this they bought land and tools. Their land was uncultivated virgin forest and cost them their total fortune; however they only paid for it in stages. They now joined together in community of goods [Güttergemeinschaft], and made the following agreement:

1) Each member surrenders all his possessions to the community, without gaining any privileges from this. All are equal within the community.

2) The laws and regulations of the society are equally binding on all.

3) Each member works only for the benefit of the whole society and not each for himself alone.

4) Whoever leaves the society has no claim to compensation for his work, but is given back everything he put in; and those who have put nothing in and depart in peace and friendship receive a parting gratuity.

5) In exchange the community undertakes to provide each member and his family with the necessities of life and the necessary care in sickness and old age, and if the parents die or withdraw, leaving their children behind, the community will bring up these children.

In the first years of their communal life, when they had to put a wilderness under the plough and also pay off some 7,000 dollars of the purchase price of the land each year, times were naturally hard for them. Several of the more wealthy were deterred by this, withdrew and took out their money, which much aggravated the colonists' troubles. But most held out faithfully and in this way had paid off all their debts in 1810, within just five years. In 1815 for various reasons they sold up their whole colony and once more bought twenty thousand acres of virgin forest in the State of Indiana. Here they built the fine town of *New Harmony* after a few years and put most of the land under the plough, established vineyards and corn-fields, built a wool- and cotton-mill, and became richer with each passing day. In 1825 they sold up their whole colony to Mr. Robert Owen for twice one hundred thousand dollars and set off for the third time into the virgin forest. This time they settled by the great river Ohio and built the town of *Economy*, which is larger and more handsome than any in which they had previously lived. In 1831 Count Leon came to America with a company of some thirty Germans to join them. They received these new arrivals gladly, but the Count stirred up some of the members against Rapp, and for this reason it was decided at a meeting of the whole community that Leon and his followers should leave. Those remaining behind paid those who were dissatisfied more than *one hundred and twenty thousand dollars*, and with this money Leon founded a second colony, which failed, however, on account of mismanagement; its members dispersed and Count Leon died shortly afterwards as a *tramp* in Texas. Rapp's settlement, on the other hand, has flourished to the present day. The above-mentioned traveller Finch reports about its present circumstances:

"The town of *Economy* consists of three long wide streets and five equally broad streets that cross these three at right angles; it has a church, a public hotel, a woollen factory, a cotton factory, and a silk-mill, a cocoonery for rearing silkworms, public stores for selling to strangers and for the supply of the members, a museum of natural curiosities, workshops for the various trades, agricultural buildings and large, handsome houses for the various families, with a large garden by each house. The farm-land belonging to it is about six miles in length and about one mile wide, contains large vineyards, an orchard of thirty-seven acres, and grain and pasture lands. The number of members is about four hundred and fifty, all well clothed, well fed and splendidly lodged, cheerful,

contented, happy and moral people who for many years have not known want.

"For a time marriage was greatly discouraged among them too, but they now marry and have families and are very desirous of increasing the number of members if proper persons would present themselves. Their religion is the New Testament, but they have no special creed and do not interfere with the opinions of the members, so long as they let the others be and abstain from sowing dissension on matters of faith. They call themselves *Harmonists*. They have no paid priests; Mr. Rapp, who is above eighty years of age, acts both as priest and governor. They like to make music and occasionally have concerts and music-meetings in the evenings. They commenced their harvest the day before my arrival with a grand concert in the fields. In their schools they teach reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar; but, like the Shakers, they do not teach any of the sciences. They labour much longer than they need, from sunrise till sunset all the year; all labour and those who cannot work in the factories in winter find employment with threshing and feeding cattle, etc. They have 75 milking cows, large flocks of sheep, and great numbers of horses, hogs and poultry, and from what they have saved, they have lent large sums to businessmen and bankers; through bankruptcies they have lost a great deal that they lent, but they have still a great amount of *useless money* which is constantly increasing.

"Their endeavour was always to make themselves every article they required so that they should need to buy from others as little as they could and eventually made more than they needed; later they acquired a flock of 100 merino sheep to improve the strain of their sheep, paying fifteen thousand dollars for them. They were among the first in establishing the woollen manufacture in America. Then they began to plant the vine, grow flax, erect a cotton factory and rear silkworms for manufacture. However in all things they first take care to abundantly supply their own wants before they sell anything.

"They live in families of from twenty to forty individuals, each of which has a separate house and domestic establishment. The family gets its supplies as much as it requires from the common stores. They have an abundance for all and they get as much as they wish without charge. When they need clothing, they apply to the head tailor, the head seamstress or shoemaker and are furnished with it made to their taste. Flesh meat and the other foods are divided among the families according to the number of individuals in each, and they have everything in abundance and plenitude."⁴

Another settlement enjoying community of goods was established at Zoar in the State of Ohio. These people are also *Separatists from Württemberg* who detached themselves from the Lutheran Church at the same time as Rapp and, after being persecuted for ten years by it and by the government, likewise emigrated. They were very poor and were only able to reach their destination with the support of philanthropic Quakers in London and America. Led by their minister, Bäumler, they arrived in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1817 and bought from a Quaker the land which they still own today and which is seven thousand acres in area. The purchase price, which amounted to some six thousand dollars, was to be paid off gradually. When they arrived at the site and counted their money, they found that they had just six dollars per person. That was all; not a penny of the purchase price of the land had yet been paid, and out of these few dollars they had to buy seed-corn, farm-tools and provisions until the next harvest. They were con-

fronted with a forest with a few log cabins, and this they had to put under the plough; but they set to work with a will, soon had their fields ready for ploughing and in the very next year built a corn-mill. *Initially they divided their land into fairly small pieces*, each of which was farmed by one family on its own account and as its private property. *But they soon saw that this would not do*, because since each one was only working for himself, they could not clear the forest fast enough and put it under the plough, they could give each other no proper assistance at all, and in this way many got into debt and were in danger of becoming quite impoverished. After a year and a half therefore, in April 1819, they joined together in community of goods, worked out a constitution and unanimously chose their minister, Bäumler, as Director. They then paid all the members' debts, were allowed two years' extension on the purchase price of the land and worked with redoubled enthusiasm and united efforts. With this new arrangement they did so well that they had paid off the whole purchase price of their land together with the interest four whole years before the appointed time, and how they are faring in other respects, the following description of two eyewitnesses will show:

An American businessman who comes to Zoar very frequently portrays the place as a perfect model of cleanliness, order and beauty, with a splendid inn, a mansion for the aged Bäumler to live in, a fine public garden of two acres, with a large greenhouse, and fine, well-built houses and gardens. He portrays the people as very happy and contented, industrious and respectable. His description was published in the Pittsburgh (Ohio) newspaper (*Pittsburg Daily Advocate and Advertiser*, July 17th 1843).⁵

Finch, whom we have mentioned several times, declares this settlement to be the most perfectly organised of all those living in community of goods in America. He gives a long list of their wealth, and says that they have a flax-spinning mill and a woollen-mill, a tannery, iron-foundries, two corn-mills, two sawmills, two threshing-machines and a host of workshops for every conceivable trade. He also says that their arable land is better farmed than anything else he had seen in America. The *Pfennig Magazin* estimates the Separatists' property at between one hundred and seventy and one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, all of which has been earned in twenty-five years, since they began with nothing at all except six dollars a head. There are about two hundred of them. They too had prohibited marriages for a time, but like the Rappites they have gone back on that and now they do marry.

Finch reproduces the Constitution of these Separatists, which consists principally in the following:

All the Society's officers are elected, in fact by all its members who

are above twenty-one years of age, from amongst their own number. These officers comprise:

1) *Three managers*, one of whom is re-elected each year, and who may be dismissed by the Society at any time. They administer all the property of the Society and provide the members with the necessities of life, dwelling, clothing and food, as well as circumstances permit and without favour for anyone. They appoint assistant managers for the different kinds of work, settle small disputes and may, jointly with the Council of the Society, promulgate new regulations, which, however, must never conflict with the Constitution.

2) The *Director*, who remains in office as long as he enjoys the confidence of the Society and manages all business as chief officer. He has the right to buy and sell, and to conclude contracts, but in all matters of importance he can only act with the consent of the three managers.

3) The *Council of the Society*, which consists of five members, one of whom resigns each year, and which enjoys the highest power in the Society, promulgates laws with the Managers and the Director, supervises the other officers and settles disputes when the parties are not satisfied with the Managers' decision; and

4) The *Paymaster*, who is elected for four years and who alone of all the members and officers has the right to have *money* in his keeping.

Besides this, the Constitution decrees that an educational establishment shall be set up, that all members shall surrender all their possessions to the community for ever and can never demand them back, that new members may only be accepted after they have lived with the Society for a year and if all the members vote for them, and the Constitution can only be altered if two-thirds of the members are in favour.

These descriptions could easily be much expanded, for almost all the travellers who go into the American interior visit one or other of the above-mentioned colonies, and *almost all accounts of these journeys* describe them. But *not even a single one* has been able to report any ill of these people, on the contrary, they all have only praise for them and the most they can find to criticise are the religious prejudices, especially of the Shakers, which, however, clearly have nothing to do with the ideal of community of goods. I could thus also quote the works of Miss Martineau, Messrs. Melish and Buckingham and many others; but as sufficient had been said above and these people anyway all tell the same tale, this is not necessary.

The success enjoyed by the Shakers, Harmonists and Separatists, and also the general urge for a new order in human society and the efforts of the Socialists and Communists that this has given rise to, have caused many other people in America to undertake similar experiments in

recent years. Thus Herr *Ginal*, a *German minister* in Philadelphia, has founded a society which has bought 37,000 acres of forest in the State of Philadelphia, built more than 80 houses there and already settled some five hundred people, *mostly Germans*, there. They have a large tannery and pottery, many workshops and storehouses, and they are really thriving. It goes without saying that they live in *community of goods*, as is the case with all the following examples. A Mr. *Hizby*, an ironmaster of Pittsburg (Ohio) has set up in his native town a similar society which last year bought some 4,000 acres of land in the vicinity of the town and is planning to establish a settlement there based on community of goods.—In addition there is a similar settlement in the State of New York at *Skaneateles* which was founded by *J. A. Collins*, an English Socialist, in the spring of 1843* with thirty members; then at *Minden* in the State of Massachusetts, where about a hundred people have been settled since 1842; then *two* in *Pike County* in the State of Pennsylvania, which were also recently set up; then one at *Brook Farm*, Massachusetts, where fifty members and thirty pupils live on about two hundred acres and have set up an excellent school under the leadership of the Unitarian minister⁶ *G. Ripley*; and then one at Northampton in the same State, which has been in existence since 1842 and provides work for one hundred and twenty members on five hundred acres of land, in arable and livestock farming as well as in sawmills, silk-mills and dyeing, and finally a colony of emigrant English Socialists at *Equality* near Milwaukee in the State of *Wisconsin*, which was started last year by *Thomas Hunt* and is making rapid progress. Apart from these, several other communities are said to have been founded recently, but there is as yet no news of them.—This much is however certain: the Americans, and particularly the poor workers in the large towns of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., have taken the matter to their hearts and founded a large number of societies for the establishment of such colonies, and all the time new communities are being set up. The Americans are tired of continuing as the slaves of the few rich men who feed on the labour of the people; and it is obvious that with the great energy and endurance of this nation, community of goods will soon be introduced over a significant part of their country.

Written in mid-October 1844

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, pp. 214-23

Published in the yearbook
Deutsches Bürgerbuch für
1845, Darmstadt, 1845

* In the original: 1813 (probably a misprint).—Ed.

Frederick Engels

From THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS
IN ENGLAND

...America, with its inexhaustible resources, with its unmeasured coal and iron fields, with its unexampled wealth of water-power and its navigable rivers, but especially with its energetic, active population, in comparison with which the English are phlegmatic dawdlers.—America has in less than ten years created a manufacture which already competes with England in the coarser cotton goods,* has excluded the English from the markets of North and South America, and holds its own in China, side by side with England.** If any country is adapted to holding a monopoly of manufacture, it is America.

Written September 1844 to March 1845

Published in Leipzig in 1845

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 4, Moscow, 1975, pp. 597-80

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

From THE GERMAN IDEOLOGY

...in countries like North America, which start from scratch in an already advanced historical epoch, the development proceeds very rapidly. Such countries have no other natural premises than the individuals who have settled there and were led to do so because the forms of intercourse of the old countries did not correspond to their requirements. Thus they begin with the most advanced individuals of the old countries, and, therefore, with the correspondingly most advanced form of intercourse, even before this form of intercourse has been able to establish itself in the old countries.

(Personal energy of the individuals of various nations—Germans and Americans—energy even as a result of cross-breeding—hence the cretinism of the Germans; in France, England, etc., foreign peoples transplanted to an already developed soil, in America to an entirely new soil; in Germany the indigenous population quietly stayed where it was.)

Written in 1845 and 1846

First published in full in 1932

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 5, Moscow, 1976, pp. 83
and 86

* The German editions of 1845 and 1892 have here in brackets “the main product of English industry”.—Ed.

** In the German editions of 1845 and 1892 the sentence follows: “The position is the same in other branches of industry.”—Ed.

CIRCULAR AGAINST KRIEGE

From Section Two

THE VOLKS-TRIBUN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY
AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS YOUNG AMERICA⁷

We fully recognise that the American National Reformers' movement is historically justified. We know that this movement has set its sights on a goal which, although for the moment it would further the industrialism of modern bourgeois society, nevertheless, as the product of a proletarian movement, as an attack on landed property in general and more particularly in the circumstances obtaining in America, will by its own inner logic inevitably press on to communism. Kriege, who has joined the Anti-Rent movement along with the German Communists in New York, pastes over this plain fact with his customary communist and extravagant phrases, without ever going into the positive substance of the movement, thereby proving that he is quite unclear in his own mind about the connection between Young America and circumstances prevailing in America. In addition to the individual passages which in passing we have already quoted, we would give another example of how his humanitarianising quite smothers the issue of land distribution to the small farmer on an American scale.

In No. 10, "Was wir wollen", we read:

"They"—that is, the American National Reformers—"call the soil the *communal* heritage of all mankind ... and want the legislative power of the people to take steps to preserve as the inalienable communal property of all mankind the 1,400 million acres of land which have not yet fallen into the hands of rapacious speculators."

In order communally to "preserve for all mankind" this "communal heritage", this "inalienable communal property", he adopts the plan of the National Reformers: "to place 160 acres of American soil at the command of every farmer, from whatever country he may hail, so that he may feed himself", or, as it is put in No. 14, "Antwort" to Conze:

"Of this as yet untouched property of the people no one shall take more than 160 acres into his possession, and that only if he farms it himself."

So in order that the soil shall remain "inalienable communal property", for "all mankind" to boot, a start must be made without delay on *dividing it up*; Kriege here imagines he can use the law to *forbid* the necessary consequences of this division, that is, concentration, industrial progress, etc. He considers 160 acres of land as an ever-constant measure, as if the value of such an area did not vary according to its quality. The "farmers" will have to exchange, if not their land itself, then at least

the produce of their land, with each other and with third parties, and when this juncture has been reached, it will soon become apparent that one "farmer", even though he has no capital, will, simply by his work and the greater initial productivity of his 160 acres, reduce his neighbour to the status of his *farm labourer*. And is it not then immaterial whether "the land" or the *produce* of the land "falls into the hands of rapacious speculators"?

Let us for the moment take Kriege's present to mankind seriously.

1,400 million acres are to be "preserved as the inalienable communal property of all mankind". Specifically, 160 acres are to be the portion of each "farmer". From this we can calculate the size of Kriege's "all mankind"—exactly 8 3/4 million "farmers", each of whom as head of family represents a family of five, a sum total therefore of 43 3/4 million people. We can likewise calculate how long "all eternity" will last, for the duration of which "the proletariat in its capacity as humanity" may "claim" "the whole earth"—at least in the United States. If the population of the United States continues to grow at the same rate as hitherto (i.e., if it doubles in 25 years), this "all eternity" will not last out 40 years; within this period the 1,400 million acres will be settled, and there will be *nothing* left for future generations to "claim". But since the release of the land would greatly increase immigration, Kriege's "all eternity" might well be foreclosed ever earlier. The more so when one considers that land for 44 million would not even suffice to channel off the now existing pauper-population of Europe, where every tenth man is a pauper and the British Isles alone supply 7 million. Similar economic naivety is to be found in No. 13, "An die Frauen", in which Kriege says that if the city of New York were to release its 52,000 acres on Long Island, this would suffice to relieve New York "at one stroke" of all its pauperism, poverty and crime for all time.

If Kriege had seen the free-land movement as a first, in certain circumstances necessary, form of the proletarian movement, as a movement which because of the social position of the class from which it emanates must necessarily develop into a communist movement, if he had shown how communist tendencies in America could, to begin with, only emerge in this agrarian form which appears to be a contradiction of all communism, then no objection could have been raised. As things are, however, he declares what is after all a still subordinate form of movement of real specific people to be a matter for mankind *in general*, presents it, against his better knowledge, as the ultimate, supreme goal of all movement in general, and thereby transforms the specific aims of the movement into sheer, extravagant nonsense.

In the same essay (No. 10) he however continues his paean unperturbed, as follows:

"In this way, therefore, the old dreams of the Europeans at last came true, on this side of the ocean a plot was prepared for them which they needed only to settle and make fruitful with the labour of their hands, and they would be able proudly to proclaim to all the tyrants of the world:

This is my hut
Which you did not build,
This is my hearth
Whose fire you envy me."

He could have added: This is *my* midden, which I and my wife, child, farm labourer, maid-servant and cattle have produced. Who are these Europeans then, whose "dreams" here come true? Not the communist workers, but bankrupt shopkeepers and master-craftsmen or ruined cottagers striving for the bliss of becoming petty bourgeois and peasants once more in America. And what kind of "wish" is this which the 1,400 million acres are to make reality? None other than that *everybody* should be turned into a *private property-owner*, a wish that is just as practicable and communist as that everybody should be turned into an emperor, king or pope.

Written on May 11, 1846

Published in May 1846

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, pp. 41-44

Karl Marx

From MORALISING CRITICISM AND CRITICAL MORALITY

A Contribution to German Cultural History
Contra Karl Heinzen*

The question of property, which in "*our own day*" is a question of world-historical significance, has thus a meaning only in *modern bourgeois society*. The more advanced this society is, in other words, the further the bourgeoisie has developed economically in a country and therefore the more state power has assumed a bourgeois character, the more glaringly does the *social* question obtrude itself, in France more glaringly than in Germany, in England more glaringly than in France, in a constitutional monarchy more glaringly than in an absolute monarchy, in a republic more glaringly than in a constitutional monarchy. Thus, for example, the conflicts of the credit system, speculation, etc., are nowhere more acute than in North America. Nowhere, either, does *social* inequality obtrude itself more harshly than in the eastern states of North America, because nowhere is it less disguised by political inequality. If pauperism has not yet developed there as much as in England, this is explained by economic circumstances which it is not our task to elucidate further here. Meanwhile, pauperism is making the most gratifying progress.

"In this country, where there are no privileged orders, where all *classes* of society have *equal rights*" (the difficulty however lies in the existence of *classes*) "and where our population is far from ... pressing on the means of subsistence, it is indeed alarming to find the increase of pauperism progressing with such rapidity." (Report by Mr. Meredith to the Pennsylvania Congress.⁸)

"It is proved that pauperism in Massachusetts has increased by three-fifths within 25 years." (From Niles' *Register*, Niles being an American.)

One of the most famous North American political economists, Thomas Cooper, who is also a radical, proposes:

1. To prohibit those without property from marrying.
2. To abolish universal suffrage, for, he exclaims:

"Society was instituted for the protection of property.... What reasonable claim can they have, who by eternal economic laws will eternally be without property of their own, to legislate on the property of others? What common motive and common interest is there between these two *classes* of inhabitants?"

"Either the working class is not revolutionary, in which case it represents the

* My reason for answering Herr Heinzen is not to rebut the attack on Engels. Herr Heinzen's article does not need a rebuttal. I am answering because Heinzen's manifesto furnishes entertaining material for analysis. K. M.

interests of the employers, on whom their livelihood depends. At the last election in New England, the master-manufacturers, to ensure votes for themselves, had the candidates' names printed on calico, and each of their workers wore such a piece of calico on their trouser-fronts.

"Or the working class becomes revolutionary, as a consequence of communal living together, etc., and then the *political power of the country* will sooner or later fall into its hands, and no property will be safe any more under this system."*

Just as in *England* the workers form a political party under the name of the *Chartists*, so do the workers in *North America* under the name of the *National Reformers* and their battle-cry is not at all *rule of the princes* or the *republic*, but *rule of the working class* or the *rule of the bourgeois class*....

If in *North America* wages are higher than in *Europe*, this is by no means the consequence of lower taxes there. It is the consequence of the territorial, commercial and industrial situation there. The demand for workers in relation to the supply of workers is significantly greater than in *Europe*. And any novice knows the truth of this already from *Adam Smith*.

Written at the end of October 1847

Published in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*
in November 1847

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, pp. 323-24
and 329

From PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNISM

In *America*, where a democratic constitution has been introduced, the Communists must make common cause with the party that will turn this constitution against the bourgeoisie and use it in the interest of the proletariat, that is, with the national agrarian reformers.

Written at the end of October
and November 1847

First published separately in 1914

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, p. 356

* Thomas Cooper, *Lectures on [the Elements of] Political Economy*, Columbia, pp. 361 & 365.

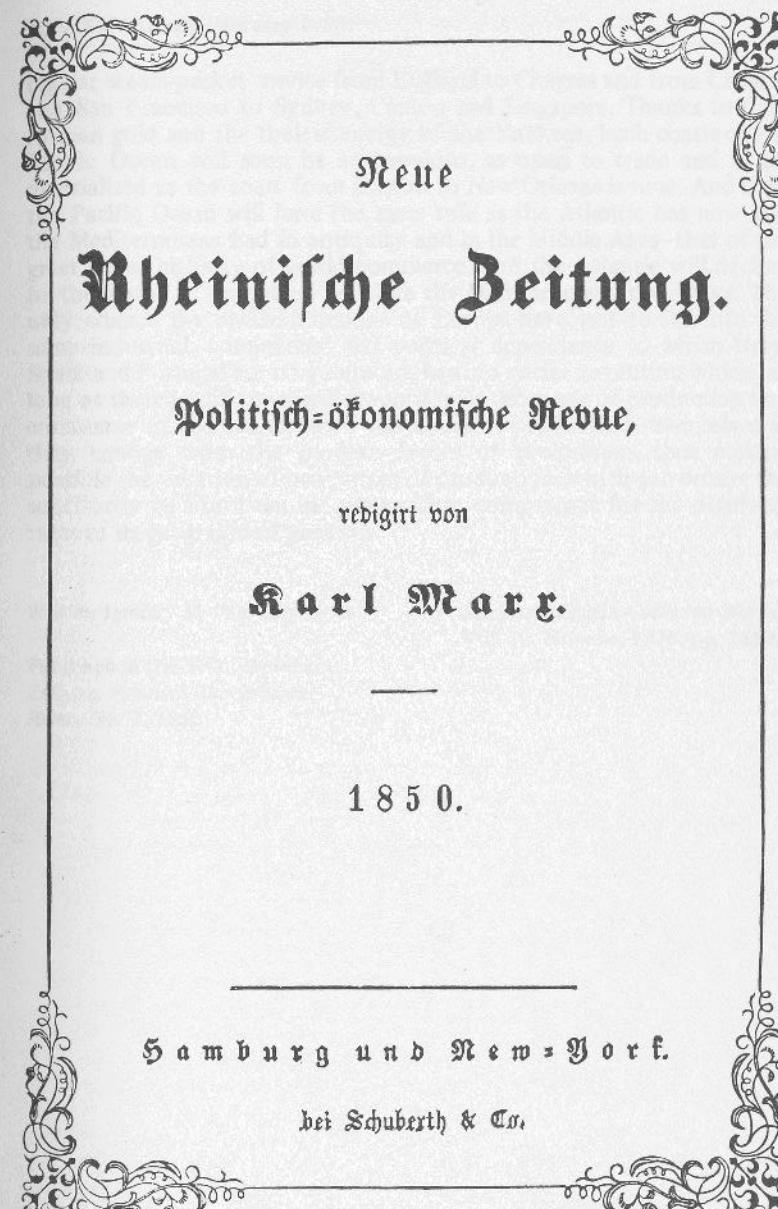
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

From REVIEW

[January-February 1850]⁹

And now we come to *America*. The most important thing to have occurred here, more important even than the February Revolution,¹⁰ is the discovery of the Californian gold mines. Already now, after barely eighteen months, one may predict that this discovery will have much more impressive consequences than the discovery of America itself. For three hundred and thirty years the whole of Europe's trade with the Pacific Ocean has been carried with the most moving patience around the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. All proposals for cutting through the Isthmus of Panama have come to grief because of the petty jealousies of the trading nations. It is a mere eighteen months since the Californian gold mines were discovered, and the Yankees have already started work on a railway, a large highway and a canal from the Gulf of Mexico, steamships are already making regular trips from New York to Chagres and from Panama to San Francisco, the Pacific trade is already becoming concentrated on Panama and the route around Cape Horn is obsolete. A coast thirty degrees of latitude in length, one of the most beautiful and fertile in the world, hitherto as good as uninhabited, is visibly being transformed into a rich and civilised country, densely populated by people of all races, from Yankee to Chinaman, from Negro to Indian and Malay, from Creole and Mestizo to European. Rivers of Californian gold are pouring over America and the Asiatic coast of the Pacific Ocean, and dragging the most reluctant barbarian nations into world trade, into civilisation. For the second time world trade is taking a new direction. The role played by Tyre, Carthage and Alexandria in antiquity, and Genoa and Venice in the Middle Ages, the role of London and Liverpool until now—that of the emporia of world trade—is now being assumed by New York and San Francisco, San Juan de Nicaragua* and Leon, Chagres and Panama. The centre of gravity of world commerce, Italy in the Middle Ages, England in modern times, is now the southern half of the North American peninsula. The industry and trade of old Europe will have to make huge exertions if they are not to fall into the same decay as the industry and trade of Italy since the sixteenth century, if England and France are not to become what Venice, Genoa and Holland are today. In a few years we shall have a

* San Juan del Sur.—*Ed.*



Cover of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 2, 1850

regular steam-packet service from England to Chagres and from Chagres and San Francisco to Sydney, Canton and Singapore. Thanks to Californian gold and the tireless energy of the Yankees, both coasts of the Pacific Ocean will soon be as populous, as open to trade and as industrialised as the coast from Boston to New Orleans is now. And then the Pacific Ocean will have the same role as the Atlantic has now and the Mediterranean had in antiquity and in the Middle Ages—that of the great water highway of world commerce; and the Atlantic will decline to the status of an inland sea, like the Mediterranean nowadays. The only chance the civilised nations of Europe have, not to fall into the same industrial, commercial and political dependence to which Italy, Spain and Portugal are now reduced, lies in a social revolution which, so long as there is still time, will revolutionise the mode of production and commerce in accordance with the needs of production themselves as they emerge from the modern forces of production, thus making possible the creation of new forces of production, which can ensure the superiority of European industry and so compensate for the disadvantages of its geographical position.

Written January 31-February 1850

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 10, Moscow, 1978, pp. 265-66

Published in the *Neue Rheinische
Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische
Revue* No. 2, 1850

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

From REVIEW

[March-April 1850]

...Reports have just come in from America which depict the market there as completely depressed. The American market, however, is the most decisive. With the glutting of the American market, with the standstill in business and the fall of prices in America the crisis proper will begin—the direct, rapid and irresistible reaction upon England will commence. We need only refer to the crisis of 1837. Only one article continues to rise in America: the United States national debt bonds, the only state bond which offers secure asylum to the capital of our European Friends of Order.

Following the entry of America into the recession brought about by overproduction we may expect the crisis to develop rather more rapidly in the coming month than hitherto. Political developments on the Continent are likewise pressing daily more urgently towards a showdown, and the coincidence of trade crisis and revolution, which has already been mentioned several times in this *Revue*, is becoming more and more certain. *Que les destins s'accomplissent!* *

Written on April 18, 1850

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*,
Vol. 10, Moscow, 1978, p. 341

Published in the *Neue Rheinische
Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische
Revue* No. 4, 1850

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

From REVIEW

[May-October 1850]

...The British bourgeoisie at the same time felt more than ever before what an oppressive domination the United States has over them through its as yet unbroken monopoly of cotton production. They at once set about the business of breaking this monopoly. Not only in East India but also in Natal and the northern parts of Australia and indeed in every part of the world where climate and conditions permit the cultivation of cotton, they have decided to promote it by every means. At the same time the British bourgeoisie who sympathise with the Negroes are discovering that "the prosperity of Manchester dependent on the treatment of slaves in Texas, Alabama and Louisiana, is as curious as it is alarming". (*The Economist*, September 21, 1850.) The fact that the crucial sector of British industry is based on the existence of slavery in the southern states of the American Union and that a Negro revolt in those areas can ruin the whole present system of production is of course very depressing for the people who a few years ago spent £ 20 million on the emancipation of the Negroes in their own colonies.¹¹ This fact, however, at the same time leads to the only feasible solution to the slave question, which has now once more led to such long and heated debates in the American Congress. American cotton production is based on slavery. As soon as industry has developed to the point when the cotton monopoly of the United States has become intolerable to it, cotton will be successfully produced in vast quantities in other countries, which almost everywhere can now only be done through *free workers*. But as soon as the free labour of other countries provides industry with its cotton supplies in sufficient quantity and more cheaply than the slave labour of the United States, American slavery will have been broken at the same time as the American cotton monopoly, and the slaves will be emancipated because as slaves they will have become unusable. In exactly the same way wage labour will be abolished in Europe as soon as it not only ceases to be a necessary form of production, but has even become a hindrance to it....

We now come to the *United States of North America*. The crisis of 1836, which had its first and most violent manifestations there, lasted almost without interruption until 1842 and resulted in a complete revolution in the American credit system. On this sounder basis, trade in the

* Let fate take its course! —Ed.

United States recovered, admittedly very slowly at first, until from 1844 and 1845 onwards prosperity grew there significantly too. Both the rise in prices and the revolutions in Europe were for America simply sources of profit. From 1845 to 1847 it profited from the enormous export of corn and from the increased price of cotton after 1846. It was only little affected by the crisis of 1847. The 1849 cotton harvest was its largest yet, and in 1850 it profited by about \$ 20 million from the poor cotton harvest, which coincided with the new upsurge in the European cotton industry. The revolutions of 1848 resulted in a great outflow of European capital to the United States, which in part arrived with the immigrants themselves and in part was invested from Europe in American government stock. This increased demand for American consolidated stocks raised the price of the latter to such an extent that speculators in New York have recently been falling over themselves in pursuit of them. Despite all assurances to the contrary from the reactionary bourgeois press, we therefore persist in our opinion that the only form of state in which our European capitalists have confidence is the *bourgeois republic*. Indeed, bourgeois confidence in any form of state only expresses itself in one way: by *its quotation on the Stock Exchange*.

The prosperity of the United States was increased even more however by other factors. The inhabited area, the *market* of the North American Union, was expanding in two directions with surprising rapidity. The growth of the population, both by natural increase and by the constant rise in immigration, led to the effective control* of whole states and territories. Wisconsin and Iowa became comparatively densely populated within a few years, and all the upper Mississippi states received immigrants in significantly larger numbers. The working of the mines on Lake Superior and the rising corn production in the whole area of the Lakes gave trade and shipping on this major inland waterway system a new impulse which will be further increased as a result of an act passed by the last session of Congress greatly facilitating trade with Canada and Nova Scotia. Whilst the north-western states have thus acquired importance of a quite new order, Oregon has been colonised within a few years, Texas and New Mexico annexed and California conquered. The discovery of the Californian gold-mines set the seal on the prosperity of America. In the second issue of this *Revue*** we have already pointed out, before any other European periodical, the importance of the discovery and the consequences it is bound to have for the whole of world trade. This importance lies not in

* In Engels' copy of the "Review" the word *Überwachung* (control) is replaced by *Urbarmachung* (reclamation).—Ed.

** See pp. 50-53 of this book.—Ed.

the increase in the amount of gold through the discovery of new mines, although this increase in the means of exchange could certainly not fail to have a positive effect on trade in general either. It lies in the incentive which the mineral wealth of California gave to capital on the world market, in the activity which was generated throughout the west coast of America and the east coast of Asia, in the new market for goods which was created in California and in all the countries within California's influence. The Californian market is considerable enough by itself; a year ago there were 100,000 and now at least 300,000 people there producing scarcely anything but gold, and exchanging this gold for all their requirements from markets elsewhere. But the Californian market is insignificant compared with the continuing expansion of all the markets of the Pacific Ocean, compared with the striking growth in trade in Chile and Peru, in Western Mexico and on the Sandwich Islands,* and compared with the sudden development of Asian and Australian traffic with California. California has created a need for totally new lines of world communication, lines which are bound shortly to exceed all others in importance. The main trade route to the Pacific Ocean, which has only now really been opened up and which is becoming the most important ocean in the world, will henceforth cross the Isthmus of Panama. The establishment of communications on this isthmus by means of roads, railways and canals has now become the most urgent requirement of world trade and is already being tackled in some places. The railway from Chagres to Panama is already being built. An American company is having the area of the San Juan de Nicaragua river surveyed in order to connect the two oceans initially by an overland route and subsequently by a canal at this point. Other routes, such as that across the Isthmus of Darien, the Atrato route in New Granada,** and that across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, are being discussed in British and American papers. In view of the whole civilised world's newly and suddenly revealed ignorance of the nature of the terrain in Central America, it is impossible to decide which route is the most advantageous for a large canal; to judge by the few facts that are known, the Atrato route and the route across Panama are the most promising. In connection with the communications across the isthmus, the rapid expansion of ocean steam navigation has become equally pressing. Steamships already ply between Southampton and Chagres, New York and Chagres, Valparaíso, Lima, Panama, Acapulco and San Francisco; but these few lines with their small number of steamers are far from adequate. It is becoming daily more necessary to supplement the steamship services between Europe and Chagres, and the growing

* Now the Hawaiian Islands.—Ed.

** Name changed to Colombia in 1863.—Ed.

traffic between Asia, Australia and America is demanding new, large-scale steamship services from Panama and San Francisco to Canton, Singapore, Sydney, New Zealand and the most important port-of-call in the Pacific Ocean, the Sandwich Islands. Of all areas of the Pacific Ocean, Australia and New Zealand in particular have made the greatest advance, both on account of the rapid progress of colonisation and on account of the influence of California, and will not stand a moment longer being isolated from the civilised world by a four- to six-month voyage by sail. The total population of the Australian colonies (not including New Zealand) rose from 170,676 (1839) to 333,764 in 1848, thus increasing by 95 1/2 per cent in 9 years. Great Britain herself cannot leave these colonies without a steamer connection; the government is negotiating at this moment for a line to join up with the East Indian overland post, and whether this comes about or not, the need for a steamer connection with America and especially California, which was the destination of 3,500 emigrants from Australia last year, will soon take care of itself. One can really say that the earth has only begun to become round since this world-wide ocean steam navigation has become necessary.

This imminent expansion of steamship services will be further intensified by the above-mentioned opening up of the Dutch colonies and by the increased number of propeller-driven steamships which, it is becoming more and more evident, can transport emigrants faster, relatively more cheaply and more conveniently than sailing ships. In addition to the propeller-driven steamers which already go from Glasgow and Liverpool to New York, new ones are to be brought into service on this line, and a line is to be established between Rotterdam and New York. The extent indeed to which ocean steam navigation at present tends to be a target for capital is demonstrated by the continuing increase in the number of steamers competing on the run between Liverpool and New York, the establishment of quite new lines from Great Britain to the Cape and from New York to Le Havre, and a whole series of similar projects which are now being peddled about in New York.

With this flow of capital into overseas steamship services and the canalisation of the American isthmus, the foundation has already been laid for over-speculation in this field. The centre for this speculation is inevitably New York, which receives the bulk of the gold from California and which has already attracted most of the trade with California to itself and indeed plays the same role relative to the whole of America as London does relative to Europe. New York is already the centre for all the transatlantic steamship services; all the steamships in the Pacific Ocean belong to New York companies, and almost all new projects in this field emanate from New York. Speculation in overseas steamer services has already begun in New York. The Nicaragua Company,

which originated in New York, likewise represents the beginning of speculation in the isthmus canals. Over-speculation will develop very soon, and even if British capital becomes involved on a large scale in all such undertakings, even if the London Stock Exchange is overwhelmed with similar projects of every kind, nevertheless this time New York will remain the centre of the whole swindle and, as in 1836, will be the first to suffer when it collapses. Countless projects will be ruined, but like the British railway system in 1845, this time the *outline* at least of world-wide steam navigation will emerge from this over-speculation. However many companies go bankrupt, the steamships which are doubling traffic across the Atlantic, which are opening up the Pacific Ocean and are linking Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and China with America and reducing the length of a voyage round the world to four months—these will remain.

Written on November 1, 1850

Published in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue* No. 5-6, 1850

Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, Moscow, 1978, pp. 501-02, 503-07

Karl Marx

From THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE
OF LOUIS BONAPARTE

The defeat of the June insurgents,¹² to be sure, had now prepared, had levelled the ground on which the bourgeois republic could be founded and built up, but it had shown at the same time that in Europe the questions at issue are other than that of "republic or monarchy". It had revealed that here *bourgeois republic* signifies the unlimited despotism of one class over other classes. It had proved that in countries with an old civilisation, with a developed formation of classes, with modern conditions of production and with an intellectual consciousness in which all traditional ideas have been dissolved by the work of centuries, *the republic signifies in general only the political form of revolution of bourgeois society* and not its *conservative form of life*, as, for example, in the United States of North America, where, though classes already exist, they have not yet become fixed, but continually change and interchange their elements in constant flux, where the modern means of production, instead of coinciding with a stagnant surplus population, rather compensate for the relative deficiency of heads and hands, and where, finally, the feverish, youthful movement of material production, which has to make a new world its own, has left neither time nor opportunity for abolishing the old spirit world.

Written between December 1851
and March 1852

Published in the first issue
of the journal *Die Revolution*,
New York, 1852

Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*
in three volumes, Vol. 1, Moscow,
1973, p. 405

Karl Marx

From THE CRISIS IN TRADE AND INDUSTRY

In the *trade reports* an attempt is of course made to blame the war for the crisis of 1854, just as the revolution of 1848 was blamed for a crisis which had already broken out in 1847. However, this time even the London *Economist*—which, as a matter of principle, tends to explain all crises as due to accidental circumstances, extraneous to trade and industry—has been forced to admit that the commercial misfortunes and losses of 1854 are the beginning of a natural reaction against the "convulsive prosperity" of 1853. In other words, the commercial cycle has again reached the point where overproduction and over-speculation turn into a crisis. Most effective proof: *the United States of North America*, which were affected by the oriental war only insofar as it gave an unheard-of impetus to America's ship-building and shipping trade, and created markets for many of their raw products formerly supplied exclusively by Russia. In the United States the crisis has already lasted more than four months and is still growing steadily, although already 109 of 4,208 banks, or about 2 1/2 per cent, have gone bankrupt; moreover, there has been such a stagnation of industry combined with such a depression of wages in the industrial states of the East, that last month more than 4,000 European immigrants "*migrated back*" to Europe. The American crisis of 1837 followed on the British crisis of 1836. This time the course is reversed. America has taken the initiative in the matter of bankruptcies.

Written between January 8 and 22, 1855

Published in the *Neue Oder-Zeitung*
in January 1855

From A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE
OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

It is a man of the New World—where bourgeois relations of production imported together with their representatives sprouted rapidly in a soil in which the superabundance of humus made up for the lack of historical tradition—who for the first time deliberately and clearly (so clearly as to be almost trite) reduces exchange-value to labour-time. This man was *Benjamin Franklin*, who formulated the basic law of modern political economy in an early work, which was written in 1729 and published in 1731.* He declares it necessary to seek another measure of value than the precious metals, and that this measure is labour.

"By labour may the value of silver be measured as well as other things. As, suppose one man is employed to raise corn, while another is digging and refining silver; at the year's end, or at any other period of time, the complete produce of corn, and that of silver, are the natural price of each other; and if one be twenty bushels, and the other twenty ounces, then an ounce of that silver is worth the labour of raising a bushel of that corn. Now if by the discovery of some nearer, more easy or plentiful mines, a man may get forty ounces of silver as easily as formerly he did twenty, and the same labour is still required to raise twenty bushels of corn, then two ounces of silver will be worth no more than the same labour of raising one bushel of corn and that bushel of corn will be as cheap at two ounces, as it was before at one, *caeteris paribus*. Thus the riches of a country are to be valued by the *quantity of labour* its inhabitants are able to purchase" (*op. cit.*, p. 265).

From the outset Franklin regards labour-time from a restricted economic standpoint as the measure of value. The transformation of actual products into exchange-values is taken for granted, and it is therefore only a question of discovering a measure of their value.

To quote Franklin again: "Trade in general being nothing else but the exchange of labour for labour, the value of all things is, as I have said before, most justly measured by labour" (*op. cit.*, p. 267).

If in this sentence the term labour is replaced by concrete labour, it is at once obvious that labour in one form is being confused with labour in another form. Because trade may, for example, consist in the ex-

change of the labour of a shoemaker, miner, spinner, painter and so on, is therefore the labour of the painter the best measure of the value of shoes? Franklin, on the contrary, considers that the value of shoes, minerals, yarn, paintings, etc., is determined by abstract labour which has no particular quality and can thus be measured only in terms of quantity.* But since he does not explain that the labour contained in exchange-value is abstract universal social labour, which is brought about by the universal alienation of individual labour, he is bound to mistake money for the direct embodiment of this alienated labour. He therefore fails to see the intrinsic connection between money and labour which posits exchange-value, but on the contrary regards money as a convenient technical device which has been introduced into the sphere of exchange from outside.** Franklin's analysis of exchange-value had no direct influence on the general course of the science, because he dealt only with special problems of political economy for definite practical purposes.

Written in August 1858-January 1859

Published in Berlin in 1859

Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*,
Moscow, 1970, pp. 55-57

* Benjamin Franklin, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, in *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, edit. by J. Sparks, Vol. II, Boston, 1836.

* Remarks and Facts Relative to the American Paper Money, 1764 (1.c.).
** See *Papers on American Politics* and *Remarks and Facts Relative to the American Paper Money*, 1764 (1.c.).

From THE ECONOMIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1857-59

Carey is the only original economist the North Americans have. He belongs to a country where bourgeois society did not develop on a feudal basis, but has been itself the starting point; where bourgeois society does not appear as the enduring result of a movement which went on for centuries but as the point of departure of a new movement; where, unlike all previous national formations, the state was from the outset subordinate to bourgeois society and to its production, and could never pretend to be an end in itself; where lastly bourgeois society, combining the productive forces of an old world with the huge natural territory of a new world, developed on a previously unknown scale and with unprecedented freedom of movement, far outstripping all work previously done to master the forces of nature, and where finally the contradictions in bourgeois society seem to be merely transitory elements.

What can be more natural than the fact that the relations of production within which this huge new world has developed so rapidly, so unexpectedly and so fortunately are regarded by Carey as the normal eternally existing relations of social production and intercourse, which were merely impeded and hampered in Europe, and especially in England, which is in fact Europe for him, by barriers taken over from the feudal period; that in his eyes the British economists have simply seen, presented or generalised these relations in a warped and spurious way by confusing accidental distortions with their intrinsic nature.

His criticism of the British theory of landed property, wages, population, class antagonisms, etc., boils down to contrasting American relations with British relations. Bourgeois society in Britain does not exist in a pure form, does not correspond to its concept, is not adequate to its own idea. How could the British economists' concepts of bourgeois society be a true and unmarred expression of a reality which they did not know?

The hampering effect of traditional influences, which had not arisen from bourgeois society itself, on the *natural* relations of that society are in the final analysis reduced by Carey to the influence of the state on bourgeois society, to the encroachment and interference of the state. Wages for example rise naturally with the productivity of labour. If we find that the actual facts do not correspond to this law, whether in

Hindustan or Britain, we need merely abstract the influence of the government, taxes, monopolies, etc. Bourgeois relations considered by themselves, i.e., after deducting the political influences, will in fact always confirm the harmonic laws of bourgeois economy. In how far these political influences, public debt, taxes, etc., have themselves arisen from bourgeois relations, and hence are by no means the result of feudalism e.g. in Britain, but rather of its dissolution and abolition, and in how far the power of the central government in North America increases with the centralisation of capital—these matters are of course not examined by Carey.

While Carey thus asserts the higher level of bourgeois society in North America in opposition to the British economists, Bastiat asserts the lower level of bourgeois society in France in opposition to the French socialists. You think that you are rebelling against the laws of bourgeois society in a country where these laws have never been permitted to be put into effect. You know them only in the stunted French form, and you regard something that is merely their national French distortion as their intrinsic form. Look at Britain. It is a matter of freeing bourgeois society in this country from the shackles imposed on it by the state. You want to add to these shackles. First achieve bourgeois relations in a pure form and we shall then discuss the matter again. (Bastiat is in so far correct as owing to France's specific social structure certain things are regarded as socialism there which are treated as economics in Britain.)

Carey, however, whose starting point is the American emancipation of bourgeois society from the state, ends by demanding state interference so that the pure development of bourgeois relations is not disturbed by influences from outside, as was indeed the case in America. He is a protectionist, whereas Bastiat is a free trader.

The harmony of the economic laws appears as disharmony in the world as a whole, and Carey is perplexed by the rudiments of this disharmony even in the United States. How does this strange phenomenon arise? Carey declares that it is due to the destructive influence which Britain with its aspiration for maintaining an industrial monopoly is exerting on the world market. Originally the false theories of Britain's economists distorted British relations at home. Now Britain as the dominant power on the world market is distorting the harmony of economic relations abroad, in all the countries of the world. This disharmony actually exists and does not merely depend on the subjective opinion of the economists.

The role which Russia plays politically for Urquhart, Britain plays economically for Carey. The harmony of economic relations is, according to Carey, based on the harmonic co-operation of town and country, industry and agriculture. Britain, which has dissolved this fundamental

harmony in its own interior, is now destroying it everywhere on the world market by its competition and is thus the factor destroying universal harmony. The only protection against this are protective tariffs—this powerful national barrier against the destructive forces of large-scale British industry. The last refuge of the “*harmonies économiques*” is therefore the state, which he initially denounced as the only disturber of these harmonies....

... The fact that the particular kind of labour employed is immaterial is appropriate to a form of society in which individuals easily pass from one type of labour to another, the particular type of labour being accidental to them and therefore irrelevant. Labour, not only as a category but in reality, has become a means to create wealth in general, and has ceased to be tied as an attribute to a particular individual. This state of affairs is most pronounced in the United States, the most modern form of bourgeois society. The abstract category “labour”, “labour as such”, labour *sans phrase*, the point of departure of modern economics, thus becomes a practical fact only there....

... *Negro slavery*, a purely industrial slavery, which in any case disappears and is incompatible with the development of bourgeois society, presupposes bourgeois society, and if other, free states with wage labour did not exist alongside slavery, but were isolated, all social conditions in the Negro states would immediately turn into pre-civilised forms....

Only the new world, of which Carey is a member, has provided the historical setting for his concept. In the very voluminous works of his first period, Carey proves economic “harmony”—which he reduces everywhere to the abstract definition of simple exchange—by showing that these simple relations are falsified everywhere, on the one hand by the state, and on the other hand by Britain’s influence on the world market. These harmonies *as such* exist. But they are falsified in the non-American countries by the state, and in America itself by the most advanced form in which these relations are encountered, their actual existence on the world market in the shape of Britain.* Carey finds no

* For example, it is a harmonic phenomenon when patriarchal production is replaced by industrial production within a country, and only the positive aspect of the process of dissolution which accompanies this development is taken into account. But it is disharmonic when large-scale British industry puts a calamitous end to patriarchal or petty-bourgeois forms of national production in a foreign country. The concentration of capital within a country and the destructive effect of this concentration have for him only positive aspects. But the effect exerted by concentrated British capital—which he condemns as Britain’s monopoly—on the capital of other nations is for him disharmony itself.

other means of restoring them [the harmonies] than appealing to the state—which he had denounced as the devil—for assistance, requesting it in the end to act as guardian angel and post protective tariffs at the entrance to the harmonic paradise. But since he is a scientist, and not a belletrist like Bastiat, he had to make a further step in his last work.¹³ America’s development during the last 18 years has upset his concept of harmony to such an extent that he no longer ascribes the falsification of the “natural harmonies” (a concept to which he still clings in principle) to the external influence of the state, but to *commerce!* This is an admirable conclusion, to extol exchange value as the foundation of harmonic production, and then to allow commerce, the developed form of exchange, to abolish the intrinsic laws of exchange value! * It is in this desperate form that he pronounces the dilatory verdict—the harmonic exchange value develops disharmonically.

Written between July 1857
and March 1859

* Carey is indeed America’s only original economist, and the great importance of his works is due to the fact that their entire subject matter is based on the reality of bourgeois society in its freest and widest development. He expresses the immense American proportions in an abstract form and contrasts them moreover with the old world. Bastiat’s only real background is the pettiness of French economic conditions whose long ears protrude everywhere from his harmonies, and in contrast to them he advances the British and American relations of production in an idealised form as “demands of practical reason”.¹⁴ Carey’s work is therefore rich in independent, as it were *bona fide* investigations of specific economic problems. When by way of exception Bastiat pretends to descend from his coquettishly polished platitudes to the examination of real categories, e.g. in connection with rent of land, he simply copies Carey. Whereas Carey thus mainly combats contradictions to his concept of harmony, and combats them in the form advanced by the British classical economists. Bastiat argues against the socialists. It is in economy itself that Carey with his more profound concept discovers the antagonism against which he as an advocate of harmony has to fight, whereas the vain and obstinate windbag sees the antagonism only outside.

MARX TO PAVEL VASIL'YEVICH ANNENKOV
IN PARIS

Brussels, December 28 [1846]
Rue d'Orléans, 42, Faubourg Namur

...I may also remark, by the way, that since Mr. Proudhon has not understood the historical origin of machinery, he has still less understood its development. One can say that up to the year 1825—the period of the first general crisis—the demands of consumption in general increased more rapidly than production, and the development of machinery was a necessary consequence of the needs of the market. Since 1825, the invention and application of machinery has been simply the result of the war between workers and employers. But this is only true of England. As for the European nations, they were driven to adopt machinery owing to English competition both in their home markets and on the world market. Finally, in North America the introduction of machinery was due both to competition with other countries and to lack of hands, that is, to the disproportion between the population of North America and its industrial needs....

...Freedom and slavery constitute an antagonism. I need not speak either of the good or of the bad sides of freedom. As to slavery, I need not speak of its bad sides. The only thing that has to be explained is the good side of slavery. We are not dealing with indirect slavery, the slavery of the proletariat, but with direct slavery, the slavery of the black people in Surinam, in Brazil, and in the Southern states of North America.

Direct slavery is as much the pivot of our industry today as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery no cotton; without cotton no modern industry. It is slavery which has made the colonies valuable; the colonies have created world trade; world trade is the necessary condition of large-scale machine industry. Thus, before the traffic in Negroes began, the colonies supplied the Old World with only very few products and made no visible change in the face of the earth. Slavery is therefore an economic category of the highest importance. Without slavery North America, the most progressive country, would be turned into a patriarchal land. If North America were wiped off the map of the world the result would be anarchy, the total decay of trade and of modern civilisation. But to let slavery disappear is to wipe North America off the map of the world. Since slavery is an economic category, it has existed in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have

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merely known how to disguise slavery in their own countries while they openly imported it into the New World.

Translated from the French

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
Moscow, 1975, pp. 33 and 35-36

**) ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMAYER
IN ZURICH

Manchester, August 7, 1851

...That you are going to America is bad, but I really don't know what other advice to give you if you can't find anything in Switzerland. There's nothing much doing in London, and Lopus* still hasn't found anything to do. He is looking for a job, and I am trying to get him one here, but without success up to now. The competition in the musical field over here is enormous. *Après tout*, ** New York doesn't seem to be very far away from England and, especially, from here, when one sees the steamers regularly making the crossing from Wednesday of one week to Saturday of the next, and they hardly ever take the full ten days. In New York you will meet the little Red Becker.*** Up to recently he was in the mail department of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, but I don't know whether he's still there, as I haven't heard from him for a long time. His last address was 24 North William Street, upstairs; if you don't know his present address, you can most likely get it from Lièvre, Shakespeare Hotel, or at the *Staatszeitung*. Moreover, there's a lot to be done in New York, and a regular representative of our party, who also has theoretical education, is badly needed there. You will find elements enough. Your greatest handicap, however, will be the fact that the useful Germans who are worth anything are easily Americanised and abandon all intention of returning home; and then there are the special American conditions to be considered: the ease with which the surplus population is drained off to the farms, the country's necessarily rapid and more rapidly growing prosperity, which makes bourgeois relations seem a *beau idéal* to them, and so forth. The Germans over there who think of going back are mostly worthless fellows, revolution-exploiters

**) denotes an article published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *Letters to Americans 1848-1895*, International Publishers, New York.—Ed.

* Wilhelm Wolff.—Ed.

** After all.—Ed.

*** Probably Max Joseph Becker.—Ed.

à la Metternich and Heinzen; the less important they are, the more contemptible they are. Besides, you will find the whole patriotic imperial mob in New York¹⁵; I have no doubt that you will be able to establish yourself there. Outside New York the only tolerable place is St. Louis; Philadelphia and Boston are dreadful provincial holes. It would be splendid if you could manage to take over the newspaper; otherwise try to get a job with the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, which is very well disposed toward us and the European correspondence of which has always been under our control....

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] October 13, 1851
28, Dean Street, Soho

...If you can get hold of the following book, Johnston, *Notes on North America*, two volumes 1851,¹⁶ you will find that it contains various interesting observations. For this Johnston is an English Liebig. A physical geography atlas by "Johnston"¹⁷—not to be confused with the earlier mentioned writer—may perhaps be available in one of the Manchester lending libraries. It contains a compilation of all research work, old and new, in this sphere. It costs 10 gns, and is therefore not intended for private buyers....

The English admit that the Americans have walked away with the prize of the Great Exhibition and have beaten them in every field. 1. Gutta-percha. A new material and new products. 2. Weapons. Revolvers. 3. Machinery. Reaping machines, sowing machines and sewing machines. 4. Daguerreotypes used for the first time on a large scale. 5. Shipping and their yachts. Finally, to show that they can also produce luxury goods, they have exhibited a huge lump of Californian gold ore and beside it a service made of virgin gold....

MARX TO JOSEPH WEYDEMAYER IN NEW YORK

London, March 5, 1852
28, Dean Street, Soho

...H. C. Carey (of Philadelphia), the only American economist of importance, is a striking proof that civil society in the United States is

as yet by no means mature enough to provide a clear and comprehensible picture of the class struggle. He attacks Ricardo, the most classic representative (interpreter) of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical adversary of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for anarchists, Socialists, and all enemies of the bourgeois system. He reproaches not only him but Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, McCulloch, Senior, Whately, R. Jones, and others, the leading economists of Europe, with rending society asunder and preparing civil war because they show that the economic bases of the different classes are bound to give rise to a necessary and ever growing antagonism among them. He tried to refute them, not indeed like the fatuous Heinzen by connecting the existence of classes with the existence of political privileges and monopolies, but by attempting to show that economic conditions—rent (landed property), profit (capital), and wages (wage labour) instead of being conditions of struggle and antagonism are rather conditions of association and harmony. All he proves, of course, is that he is taking the "undeveloped" conditions of the United States for "normal conditions"....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 63-64

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 14, 1853
28, Dean Street, Soho

...Carey, the American economist, has published a new book, *Slavery at Home and Abroad*.¹⁸ "Slavery" here includes all forms of servitude, wage slavery, etc. He has sent me his book and has quoted me repeatedly (from the *Tribune*), sometimes as "a recent English writer", sometimes as a "correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*". I told you before that in his previously published works this man described the "harmony" of the economic foundations of the bourgeois system and attributed all the mischief to superfluous interference by the state. The state was his bogey. Now he is singing another tune. The root of all evil is the centralising effect of modern industry. But this centralising effect is England's fault, because she has become the workshop of the world and forces all other countries back to crude agriculture, divorced from manufacture. For England's sins the Ricardo-Malthus theory and

especially Ricardo's theory of rent of land are in their turn responsible. The necessary consequence alike of Ricardo's theory and of industrial centralisation would be communism. And so as to escape all this, so as to confront centralisation with localisation and a union of industry and agriculture spread throughout the country, our ultra-free-trader finally recommends *protective tariffs*. In order to escape the effects of bourgeois industry, for which he makes England responsible, he resorts like a true Yankee to hastening this development in America itself by artificial means. His opposition to England, moreover, throws him into *Sismondian* praise of petty-bourgeois ways in Switzerland, Germany, China, etc. This is the same fellow who used to sneer at France for her likeness to China. The only thing of positive interest in the book is the comparison between the former English Negro slavery in Jamaica, etc., and the Negro slavery of the United States. He shows that the main body of Negroes in Jamaica, etc., always consisted of newly imported barbarians, as under English treatment the Negroes were not only unable to maintain their population but even two-thirds of the number annually imported perished; the present generation of Negroes in America, on the other hand, is a native product, more or less Yankeeified, English-speaking, etc., and therefore fit for emancipation.

The *Tribune* is of course hard at it trumpeting Carey's book. Both indeed have this in common, that under the guise of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialist anti-industrialism they represent the protectionist bourgeoisie, i.e., the industrial bourgeoisie of America. This also explains the secret why the *Tribune* in spite of all its "isms" and socialist humbug, can be the "leading journal" in the United States.

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 78-79

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] December 2, 1854
28, Dean Street, Soho

...On Monday I shall send you Ripley¹⁹ and Solis' *Conquista de Mexico*²⁰ through the previously mentioned Parcel Company. Please return the latter when you do not need it any more, for Solis' book does not belong to me. I have now read through the entire Ripley—of course cursorily, which is sufficient for my purpose. I am now con-

vinced—and Ripley makes it quite obvious, sometimes in a "restrained" sarcastic manner—that the great Scott is a quite ordinary, petty, nagging, envious rascal and humbug without talent, who, realising that he owes everything to the bravery of his soldiers and the skill of his divisional commanders, resorted to mean tricks so as to win fame. It seems that he is a great general just as much as the many-sided Greeley is a great philosopher. The fellow caused constant confusion throughout the campaign, and for some of his actions any decent court martial would have had him shot. But he is the *foremost* general (according to *rank*) of America. That is presumably why Dana believes in him. Taylor is after all probably better than Scott, the American public seem to have felt this, for they have made him President of the United States, and have rejected Scott again and again despite all his efforts. It seems to me that General Worth is the most outstanding of the lot, do let me know your views about this as soon as you have read the volume. And then also about another important point. Is it not strange that Scott keeps always at a distance of two to ten miles from the active operations, and *never* appears on the battlefield but is always merely "observing the progress of events" from a safe hiding-place. Unlike Taylor, he does not even put in an appearance when the presence of the commander-in-chief is necessary for the maintenance of the army's morale. After the fierce battle of Contreras he moves forward with his entire staff when the whole business is over. During the fluctuating battle of Molino del Rey he sends word to his "brave" troops that they should stand firm, and that he would perhaps turn up himself. His "diplomatic" talent is comparable only to his military talent. Where he shows distrust, it is always distrust of his more talented divisional commanders, but never of Santa Anna, who leads him by the nose like an elderly child.

The characteristic feature of this war seems to be that every division, every individual military unit stubbornly pursues its aim, spontaneously exploiting every incident, despite wrong or inadequate orders from the chief, so that in the end an integrated whole emerges. The Yankees have perhaps an even stronger feeling of independence and individual efficiency than the Anglo-Saxons have....

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London, about January 11, 1860]

...In my opinion, the biggest things that are happening in the world today are on the one hand the movement of the slaves in America,

started by the death of John Brown,²¹ and on the other the movement of the slaves in Russia.

...I have just seen in the *Tribune* that a new revolt of slaves took place in Missouri and was naturally suppressed.²² But the signal has now been given. If this business gets serious by and by, what will become of Manchester?

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 114

***)ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, January 26, 1860

...Your opinion about the importance of the slave movements in America and Russia is now confirmed. The Harper's Ferry affair with its sequel in Missouri bears fruit²³: the free Negroes in the South are everywhere driven out of the states, and I have just read in the first New York cotton report (W. P. Wright and Co., January 10, 1860)²⁴ that the planters have hurried their cotton on to the ports in order to guard against any probable consequences arising out of the Harper's Ferry affair....

**MARX TO FERDINAND LASSALLE
IN BERLIN**

London, April 9, 1860
(old address)

...My old friend Joseph Weydemeyer has resigned his position as deputy-surveyor of Wisconsin at the request of the American *Workers' League* (a public organisation with branches throughout the United

*) denotes an article published in: K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States*, International Publishers, New York.—Ed.

States) which has moved its *administrative centre* from New York to Chicago (Illinois).²⁵ Weydemeyer will be editing a daily newspaper there* which is financed by means of shares taken up by workers. Chicago becomes increasingly the centre of the American North-west, where the German influence predominates. Weydemeyer has asked me to find correspondents for this paper; I have done so here, in Paris and in Switzerland.²⁶ I request you to become its German correspondent—sending contributions *twice* weekly if possible. Payment is out of the question. It is party work, but *very* important. Weydemeyer is one of our *best* men. If you agree, and I hope you will, start immediately and send your letters to the following address:

"J. Weydemeyer, care of Chicago Arbeiterverein, Box 1345, Chicago (Illinois) United States."...

* *Stimme des Volkes*.—Ed.

Karl Marx
and
Frederick Engels

1861 TO 1865

Karl Marx

From THE AMERICAN QUESTION IN ENGLAND

London, Sept. 18, 1861

Mrs. Beecher Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury,²⁷ whatever its intrinsic merit may be, has done a great deal of good, by forcing the anti-Northern organs of the London press to speak out and lay before the general public the ostensible reasons for their hostile tone against the North, and their ill-concealed sympathies with the South, which looks rather strange on the part of people affecting an utter horror of Slavery. Their first and main grievance is that the present American war is "not one for the abolition of Slavery," and that, therefore, the high minded Britisher, used to undertake wars of his own, and interest himself in other people's wars, only on the basis of "broad humanitarian principles," cannot be expected to feel any sympathy with his Northern cousins.

"In the first place," says *The Economist*, "the assumption that the quarrel between the North and South is a quarrel between negro freedom on the one side and negro Slavery on the other, is as impudent as it is untrue." "The North," says *The Saturday Review*, "does not proclaim abolition, and never pretended to fight for Anti-Slavery. The North has not hoisted for its *oriflamme* the sacred symbol of justice to the negro; its *cri de guerre* is not unconditional abolition." "If," says *The Examiner*, "we have been deceived about the real significance of the sublime movement, who but the Federalists themselves have to answer for the deception?"

Now, in the first instance, the premise must be conceded. The war has not been undertaken with a view to put down Slavery, and the United States authorities themselves have taken the greatest pains to protest against any such idea. But then, it ought to be remembered that it was not the North, but the South, which undertook this war; the former acting only on the defense. If it be true that the North, after long hesitations, and an exhibition of forbearance unknown in the annals of European history, drew at last the sword, not for crushing Slavery, but for saving the Union, the South, on its part, inaugurated the war by loudly proclaiming "the peculiar institution"^{**} as the only and main end of the rebellion. It confessed to fight for the liberty of enslaving other people, a liberty which, despite the Northern protests, it asserted to be put in danger by the victory of the Republican party and the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidential chair. The Confederate Congress boasted that its new-fangled constitution,²⁸ as distinguished from the Constitution of the Washingtons, Jeffersons, and Adams's, had

* Slavery.—*Ed.*

recognized for the first time Slavery as a thing good in itself, a bulwark of civilization, and a divine institution. If the North professed to fight but for the Union, the South gloried in rebellion for the supremacy of Slavery....

✓ The progressive abuse of the Union by the slave power, working through its alliance with the Northern Democratic party, is, so to say, the general formula of the United States history since the beginning of this century. The successive compromise measures mark the successive degrees of the encroachment by which the Union became more and more transformed into the slave of the slave-owner. Each of these compromises denotes a new encroachment of the South, a new concession of the North. At the same time none of the successive victories of the South was carried but after a hot contest with an antagonistic force in the North, appearing under different party names with different watchwords and under different colors. If the positive and final result of each single contest told in favor of the South, the attentive observer of history could not but see that every new advance of the slave power was a step forward to its ultimate defeat. Even at the times of the Missouri Compromise²⁹ the contending forces were so evenly balanced that Jefferson, as we see from his memoirs,³⁰ apprehended the Union to be in danger of splitting on that deadly antagonism. The encroachments of the slaveholding power reached their maximum point, when, by the Kansas Nebraska Bill,³¹ for the first time in the history of the United States, as Mr. Douglas himself confessed, every legal barrier to the diffusion of Slavery within the United States territories was broken down, when, afterward, a Northern candidate bought his Presidential nomination by pledging the Union to conquer or purchase in Cuba a new field of dominion for the slaveholder; when, later on, by the Dred Scott decision,³² diffusion of Slavery by the Federal power was proclaimed as the law of the American Constitution, and lastly, when the African slave-trade was de facto reopened on a larger scale than during the times of its legal existence. But, concurrently with this climax of Southern encroachments, carried by the connivance of the Northern Democratic party, there were unmistakable signs of Northern antagonistic agencies having gathered such strength as must soon turn the balance of power. The Kansas war,³³ the formation of the Republican party, and the large vote, cast for Mr. Frémont during the Presidential election of 1856, were so many palpable proofs that the North had accumulated sufficient energies to rectify the aberrations which United States history, under the slave-owners' pressure, had undergone, for half a century, and to make it return to the true principles of its development. Apart from those political phenomena, there was one broad statistical and economical fact indicating that the abuse of the Federal

Union by the slave interest had approached the point from which it would have to recede forcibly, or *de bonne grace*. That fact was the growth of the North-West, the immense strides its population had made from 1850 to 1860, and the new and reinvigorating influence it could not but bear on the destinies of the United States....

In 1859, on the occasion of John Brown's Harper's Ferry expedition,³⁴ the very same *Economist*, published a series of elaborate articles with a view to prove that, by dint of an *economical law*, American Slavery was doomed to gradual extinction from the moment it should be deprived of its power of expansion. That "economical law" was perfectly understood by the Slaveocracy.

"In 15 years more," said Toombs, "without a great increase in Slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites, or the whites must flee from the slaves."

The limitation of Slavery to its constitutional area, as proclaimed by the Republicans, was the distinct ground upon which the menace of Secession was first uttered in the House of Representatives on December 19, 1859. Mr. Singleton (Mississippi) having asked Mr. Curtis (Iowa), "if the Republican party would never let the South have another foot of slave territory while it remained in the Union", and Mr. Curtis having responded in the affirmative, Mr. Singleton *said this would dissolve the Union*. His advice to Mississippi was the sooner it got out of the Union the better—"gentlemen should recollect that Jefferson Davis led our forces in Mexico, and still he lives, perhaps to lead the Southern army." Quite apart from the *economical law* which makes the diffusion of Slavery a vital condition for its maintenance within its constitutional areas, the leaders of the South had never deceived themselves as to its necessity for keeping up their *political sway* over the United States. John Calhoun, in the defense of his propositions to the Senate, stated distinctly on Feb. 19, 1847, "that the Senate was the only balance of power left to the South in the Government," and that the creation of new Slave States had become necessary "for the retention of the equipoise of power in the Senate." Moreover, the Oligarchy of the 300,000 slave owners could not even maintain their sway at home save by constantly throwing out to their white plebeians the bait of prospective conquests within and without the frontiers of the United States. If, then, according to the oracles of the English press, the North had arrived at the fixed resolution of circumscribing Slavery within its present limits, and of thus extinguishing it in a constitutional way, was this not sufficient to enlist the sympathies of Anti-Slavery England?

But the English Puritans seem indeed not to be contented save by an explicit Abolitionist war.

"This," says *The Economist*, "therefore, not being a war for the emancipation of the negro race, on what other ground can we be fairly called upon to sympathize so warmly with the Federal cause?"

"There was a time," says *The Examiner*, "when our sympathies were with the North, thinking that it was really in earnest in making a stand against the encroachments of the Slave States," and in adopting "emancipation as a measure of justice to the black race."

However, in the very same numbers in which these papers tell us that they cannot sympathize with the North because its war is no Abolitionist war, we are informed that "the desperate expedient of proclaiming negro emancipation and summoning the slaves to a general insurrection," is a thing "the mere conception of which is repulsive and dreadful," and that "a compromise" would be "far preferable to success purchased at such a cost and *stained by such a crime*."

Thus the English eagerness for the Abolitionist war is all cant. The cloven foot peeps out in the following sentences:

"Lastly," says *The Economist*, "is the *Morrill Tariff*, a title to our gratitude and to our sympathy, or is the certainty that, in case of Northern triumph, that Tariff should be extended over the whole Republic, a reason why we ought to be clamorously anxious for their success?"

"The North Americans," says *The Examiner*, "are in earnest about nothing but a selfish protective tariff.... The Southern States were tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave-labor by the protective tariff of the North."

The Examiner and *The Economist* comment each other. The latter is honest enough to confess at last that with him and his followers sympathy is a mere question of tariff, while the former reduces the war between North and South to a tariff war, to a war between Protection and Free Trade. *The Examiner* is perhaps not aware that even the South Carolina Nullifiers of 1832, as Gen. Jackson testifies, used Protection only as a pretext for secession; but even *The Examiner* ought to know that the present rebellion did not wait upon the passing of the Morrill Tariff for breaking out.³⁵ In point of fact, the Southerners could not have been tired of being robbed of the fruits of their slave-labor by the protective tariff of the North, considering that from 1846-1861 a Free-Trade tariff had obtained.

From THE LONDON TIMES
ON THE ORLEANS PRINCES IN AMERICA

...The first grand war of contemporaneous history is the American war.

The people of Europe know that the Southern slaveocracy commenced that war with the declaration that the continuance of slaveocracy was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union. Consequently, the people of Europe know that a fight for the continuance of the Union is a fight against the continuance of the slaveocracy—that in this contest the highest form of popular self-government till now realized is giving battle to the meanest and most shameless form of man's enslaving recorded in the annals of history.

Written on October 12, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

Published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*
No. 6426, November 7, 1861

*)THE NORTH AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

London, October 20, 1861

For months the leading weekly and daily papers of the London press have been reiterating the same litany on the American Civil War. While they insult the free states of the North, they anxiously defend themselves against the suspicion of sympathising with the slave states of the South. In fact, they continually write two articles: one article, in which they attack the North, and another article, in which they excuse their attacks on the North. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse.**

In essence the extenuating arguments read: The war between the North and South is a tariff war. The war is, further, not for any principle, does not touch the question of slavery and in fact turns on Northern lust for sovereignty. Finally, even if justice is on the side of the North, does it not remain a vain endeavour to want to subjugate eight million Anglo-Saxons by force! Would not separation of the South release the North from all connection with Negro slavery and ensure for it, with its twenty million inhabitants and its vast territory, a higher, hitherto scarcely dreamt-of, development? Accordingly, must not the North welcome secession as a happy event, instead of wanting to overrule it by a bloody and futile civil war?

Point by point we will probe the plea of the English press.

The war between North and South—so runs the first excuse—is a mere tariff war, a war between a protectionist system and a free trade system, and Britain naturally stands on the side of free trade. Shall the slave-owner enjoy the fruits of slave labour in their entirety or shall he be cheated of a portion of these by the protectionists of the North? That is the question which is at issue in this war. It was reserved for *The Times* to make this brilliant discovery. *The Economist*, *The Examiner*, *The Saturday Review* and *tutti quanti* expounded the theme further. It is characteristic of this discovery that it was made, not in Charleston, but in London. Naturally, in America everyone knew that from 1846 to 1861 a free trade system prevailed, and that Representative Morrill carried his protectionist tariff through Congress only in 1861, after the rebellion had already broken out. Secession, therefore, did not take place because the Morrill tariff had gone through Congress, but, at most, the Morrill tariff went through Congress because secession had

taken place. When South Carolina had its first attack of secession in 1831,³⁶ the protectionist tariff of 1828 served it, to be sure, as a pretext, but only as a pretext, as is known from a statement of General Jackson. This time, however, the old pretext has in fact not been repeated. In the Secession Congress at Montgomery all reference to the tariff question was avoided, because the cultivation of sugar in Louisiana, one of the most influential Southern states, depends entirely on protection.

But, the London press pleads further, the war of the United States is nothing but a war for the forcible maintenance of the Union. The Yankees cannot make up their minds to strike fifteen stars from their standard. They want to cut a colossal figure on the world stage. Yes, it would be different if the war was waged for the abolition of slavery! The question of slavery, however, as *The Saturday Review* categorically declares among other things, has absolutely nothing to do with this war.

It is above all to be remembered that the war did not originate with the North, but with the South. The North finds itself on the defensive. For months it had quietly looked on while the secessionists appropriated the Union's forts, arsenals, shipyards, customs houses, pay offices, ships and supplies of arms, insulted its flag and took prisoner bodies of its troops. Finally the secessionists resolved to force the Union government out of its passive attitude by a blatant act of war, and *solely for this reason* proceeded to the bombardment of Fort Sumter near Charleston. On April 11 (1861) their General Beauregard had learnt in a meeting with Major Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter, that the fort was only supplied with provisions for three days more and accordingly must be peacefully surrendered after this period. In order to forestall this peaceful surrender, the secessionists opened the bombardment early on the following morning (April 12), which brought about the fall of the fort in a few hours. News of this had hardly been telegraphed to Montgomery, the seat of the Secession Congress, when War Minister Walker publicly declared in the name of the new Confederacy: "No man can say where *the war opened today* will end." At the same time he prophesied "that before the first of May the flag of the Southern Confederacy will wave from the dome of the old Capitol in Washington and within a short time perhaps also from the Faneuil Hall in Boston".³⁷ Only now ensued the proclamation in which Lincoln called for 75,000 men to defend the Union. The bombardment of Fort Sumter cut off the only possible constitutional way out, namely the convocation of a general convention of the American people, as Lincoln had proposed in his inaugural address. For Lincoln there now remained only the choice of fleeing from Washington, evacuating Maryland and Delaware and surrendering Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, or of answering war with war.

* He who excuses himself accuses himself.—Ed.

The question of the principle of the American Civil War is answered by the battle slogan with which the South broke the peace. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, declared in the Secession Congress that what essentially distinguished the Constitution newly hatched at Montgomery from the Constitution of Washington and Jefferson was that now for the first time slavery was recognised as an institution good in itself, and as the foundation of the whole state edifice, whereas the revolutionary fathers, men steeped in the prejudices of the eighteenth century, had treated slavery as an evil imported from England and to be eliminated in the course of time. Another matador of the South, Mr. Spratt, cried out: "For us it is a question of founding a great slave republic." If, therefore, it was indeed only in defence of the Union that the North drew the sword, had not the South already declared that the continuance of slavery was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union?

Just as the bombardment of Fort Sumter gave the signal for the opening of the war, the election victory of the *Republican* Party of the North, the election of Lincoln as President, gave the signal for secession. On November 6, 1860, Lincoln was elected. On November 8, 1860, a message telegraphed from South Carolina said: "Secession is regarded here as an accomplished fact"; on November 10 the legislature of Georgia occupied itself with secession plans, and on November 13 a special session of the legislature of Mississippi was convened to consider secession. But Lincoln's election was itself only the result of a split in the *Democratic* camp. During the election struggle the Democrats of the North concentrated their votes on *Douglas*, the Democrats of the South concentrated their votes on *Breckinridge*, and to this splitting of the Democratic votes the Republican Party owed its victory. Whence came, on the one hand, the preponderance of the *Republican* Party in the North? Whence, on the other, the disunion *within* the *Democratic* Party, whose members, North and South, had operated in conjunction for more than half a century?

Under the presidency of Buchanan the sway that the South had gradually usurped over the Union through its alliance with the Northern Democrats attained its zenith. The last Continental Congress of 1787 and the first Constitutional Congress of 1789-90 had legally excluded slavery from all Territories of the republic north-west of the Ohio. (Territories, as is known, is the name given to the colonies lying within the United States itself which have not yet attained the level of population constitutionally prescribed for the formation of autonomous states.) The so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), in consequence of which Missouri became one of the States of the Union as a slave state, excluded slavery from every remaining Territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ latitude and west of the Missouri. By this compromise the area of slavery

was advanced several degrees of longitude, whilst, on the other hand, a geographical boundary-line to its future spread seemed quite definitely drawn. This geographical barrier, in its turn, was thrown down in 1854 by the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the initiator of which was St[even] A. Douglas, then leader of the Northern Democrats. The Bill, which passed both Houses of Congress, repealed the Missouri Compromise, placed slavery and freedom on the same footing, commanded the Union government to treat them both with equal indifference and left it to the sovereignty of the people, that is, the majority of the settlers, to decide whether or not slavery was to be introduced in a Territory. Thus, for the first time in the history of the United States, every geographical and legal limit to the extension of slavery in the Territories was removed. Under this new legislation the hitherto free Territory of New Mexico, a Territory five times as large as the State of New York, was transformed into a slave Territory, and the area of slavery was extended from the border of the Mexican Republic to 38° north latitude. In 1859 New Mexico received a slave code that vies with the statute-books of Texas and Alabama in barbarity. Nevertheless, as the census of 1860 proves, among some hundred thousand inhabitants New Mexico does not yet count half a hundred slaves. It had therefore sufficed for the South to send some adventurers with a few slaves over the border, and then with the help of the central government in Washington and of its officials and contractors in New Mexico to drum together a sham popular representation to impose slavery and with it the rule of the slaveholders on the Territory.

However, this convenient method did not prove applicable in other Territories. The South accordingly went a step further and appealed from Congress to the Supreme Court of the United States. This Court, which numbers nine judges, five of whom belong to the South, had long been the most willing tool of the slaveholders. It decided in 1857, in the notorious Dred Scott case,³⁸ that every American citizen possesses the Constitution. The Constitution, it maintained, recognises slaves as property and obliges the Union government to protect this property. Consequently, on the basis of the Constitution, slaves could be forced to labour in the Territories by their owners, and so every individual slaveholder was entitled to introduce slavery into hitherto free Territories against the will of the majority of the settlers. The right to exclude slavery was taken from the Territorial legislatures and the duty to protect pioneers of the slave system was imposed on Congress and the Union government.

If the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had extended the geographical boundary-line of slavery in the Territories, if the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 had erased every geographical boundary-line and set up a political barrier instead, the will of the majority of the settlers, now the

Supreme Court of the United States, by its decision of 1857, tore down even this political barrier and transformed all the Territories of the republic, present and future, from nurseries of free states into nurseries of slavery.

At the same time, under Buchanan's government the severer law on the surrendering of fugitive slaves enacted in 1850³⁹ was ruthlessly carried out in the states of the North. To play the part of slave-catchers for the Southern slaveholders appeared to be the constitutional calling of the North. On the other hand, in order to hinder as far as possible the colonisation of the Territories by free settlers, the slaveholders' party frustrated all the so-called free-soil measures, i.e., measures which were to secure for the settlers a definite amount of uncultivated state land free of charge.⁴⁰

In the foreign, as in the domestic, policy of the United States, the interest of the slaveholders served as the guiding star. Buchanan had in fact bought the office of President through the issue of the Ostend Manifesto, in which the acquisition of Cuba, whether by purchase or by force of arms, was proclaimed as the great task of national policy.⁴¹ Under his government northern Mexico was already divided among American land speculators, who impatiently awaited the signal to fall on Chihuahua, Coahuila and Sonora. The unceasing piratical expeditions of the filibusters against the states of Central America were directed no less from the White House at Washington. In the closest connection with this foreign policy, whose manifest purpose was conquest of new territory for the spread of slavery and of the slaveholders' rule, stood the *reopening of the slave trade*,⁴² secretly supported by the Union government. St[ephen] A. Douglas himself declared in the American Senate on August 20, 1859: During the last year more Negroes have been imported from Africa than ever before in any single year, even at the time when the slave trade was still legal. The number of slaves imported in the last year totalled fifteen thousand.

Armed spreading of slavery abroad was the avowed aim of national policy; the Union had in fact become the slave of the three hundred thousand slaveholders who held sway over the South. A series of compromises, which the South owed to its alliance with the Northern Democrats, had led to this result. On this alliance all the attempts, periodically repeated since 1817, to resist the ever increasing encroachments of the slaveholders had hitherto come to grief. At length there came a turning point.

For hardly had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill gone through, which wiped out the geographical boundary-line of slavery and made its introduction into new Territories subject to the will of the majority of the settlers, when armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble from Missouri and Arkansas, with bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other,

fell upon Kansas and sought by the most unheard-of atrocities to dislodge its settlers from the Territory colonised by them. These raids were supported by the central government in Washington. Hence a tremendous reaction. Throughout the North, but particularly in the North-west, a relief organisation was formed to support Kansas with men, arms and money. Out of this relief organisation arose the *Republican Party*, which therefore owes its origin to the struggle for Kansas. After the attempt to transform Kansas into a *slave Territory* by force of arms had failed, the South sought to achieve the same result by political intrigues. Buchanan's government, in particular, exerted its utmost efforts to have Kansas included in the States of the Union as a *slave state* with a slave constitution imposed on it. Hence renewed struggle, this time mainly conducted in Congress at Washington. Even St[ephen] A. Douglas, the chief of the Northern Democrats, now (1857-58) entered the lists against the government and his allies of the South, because imposition of a slave constitution would have been contrary to the principle of sovereignty of the settlers passed in the Nebraska Bill of 1854. Douglas, Senator for Illinois, a North-western state, would naturally have lost all his influence if he had wanted to concede to the South the right to steal by force of arms or through acts of Congress Territories colonised by the North. As the struggle for Kansas, therefore, called the *Republican Party* into being, it at the same time occasioned the first *split within the Democratic Party* itself.

The Republican Party put forward its first platform for the presidential election in 1856. Although its candidate, John Frémont, was not victorious, the huge number of votes cast for him at any rate proved the rapid growth of the Party, particularly in the North-west. At their second National Convention for the presidential election (May 17, 1860), the Republicans again put forward their platform of 1856, only enriched by some additions. Its principal contents were the following: Not a foot of fresh territory is further conceded to slavery. The filibustering policy abroad must cease. The reopening of the slave trade is stigmatised. Finally, free-soil laws are to be enacted for the furtherance of free colonisation.

The vitally important point in this platform was that not a foot of fresh terrain was conceded to slavery; rather it was to remain once and for all confined with the boundaries of the states where it already legally existed. Slavery was thus to be formally interned; but continual expansion of territory and continual spread of slavery beyond its old limits is a law of life for the slave states of the Union.

The cultivation of the southern export articles, cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., carried on by slaves, is only remunerative as long as it is conducted with large gangs of slaves, on a mass scale and on wide expanses of a naturally fertile soil, which requires only simple labour.

Intensive cultivation, which depends less on fertility of the soil than on investment of capital, intelligence and energy of labour, is contrary to the nature of slavery. Hence the rapid transformation of states like Maryland and Virginia, which formerly employed slaves on the production of export articles, into states which raise slaves to export them into the deep South. Even in South Carolina, where the slaves form four-sevenths of the population, the cultivation of cotton has been almost completely stationary for years due to the exhaustion of the soil. Indeed, by force of circumstances South Carolina has already been transformed in part into a slave-raising state, since it already sells slaves to the sum of four million dollars yearly to the states of the extreme South and South-west. As soon as this point is reached, the acquisition of new Territories becomes necessary, so that one section of the slaveholders with their slaves may occupy new fertile lands and that a new market for slave-raising, therefore for the sale of slaves, may be created for the remaining section. It is, for example, indubitable that without the acquisition of Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas by the United States, slavery in Virginia and Maryland would have been wiped out long ago. In the Secessionist Congress at Montgomery, Senator Toombs, one of the spokesmen of the South, strikingly formulated the economic law that commands the constant expansion of the territory of slavery.

"In fifteen years," said he, "without a great increase in slave territory, either the slaves must be permitted to flee from the whites, or the whites must flee from the slaves."

As is known, the representation of the individual states in the Congress House of Representatives depends on the size of their respective populations. As the populations of the free states grow far more quickly than those of the slave states, the number of Northern Representatives was bound to outstrip that of the Southern very rapidly. The real seat of the political power of the South is accordingly transferred more and more to the American Senate, where every state, whether its population is great or small, is represented by two Senators. In order to assert its influence in the Senate and, through the Senate, its hegemony over the United States, the South therefore required a continual formation of new slave states. This, however, was only possible through conquest of foreign lands, as in the case of Texas, or through the transformation of the Territories belonging to the United States first into slave Territories and later into slave states, as in the case of Missouri, Arkansas, etc. John Calhoun, whom the slaveholders admire as their statesman *par excellence*, stated as early as February 19, 1847, in the Senate, that the Senate alone placed a balance of power in the hands of the South, that extension of the slave territory was necessary to preserve this equilibrium between South and North in the Senate, and that the attempts of the South at the creation of new slave states

by force were accordingly justified.

Finally, the number of actual slaveholders in the South of the Union does not amount to more than three hundred thousand, a narrow oligarchy that is confronted with many millions of so-called poor whites, whose numbers have been constantly growing through concentration of landed property and whose condition is only to be compared with that of the Roman plebeians in the period of Rome's extreme decline. Only by acquisition and the prospect of acquisition of new Territories, as well as by filibustering expeditions, is it possible to square the interests of these "poor whites" with those of the slaveholders, to give their restless thirst for action a harmless direction and to tame them with the prospect of one day becoming slaveholders themselves.

A strict confinement of slavery within its old terrain, therefore, was bound according to economic law to lead to its gradual effacement, in the political sphere to annihilate the hegemony that the slave states exercised through the Senate, and finally to expose the slaveholding oligarchy within its own states to threatening perils from the "poor whites." In accordance with the principle that any further extension of slave Territories was to be prohibited by law, the Republicans therefore attacked the rule of the slaveholders at its root. The Republican election victory was accordingly bound to lead to open struggle between North and South. And this election victory, as already mentioned, was itself conditioned by the split in the Democratic camp.

The Kansas struggle had already caused a split between the slaveholders' party and the Democrats of the North allied to it. With the presidential election of 1860, the same strife now broke out again in a more general form. The Democrats of the North, with Douglas as their candidate, made the introduction of slavery into Territories dependent on the will of the majority of the settlers. The slaveholders' party, with Breckinridge as their candidate, maintained that the Constitution of the United States, as the Supreme Court had also declared, brought slavery legally in its train; in and of itself slavery was already legal in all Territories and required no special naturalisation. Whilst, therefore, the Republicans prohibited any extension of slave Territories, the Southern party laid claim to all Territories of the republic as legally warranted domains. What they had attempted by way of example with regard to Kansas, to force slavery on a Territory through the central government against the will of the settlers themselves, they now set up as law for all the Territories of the Union. Such a concession lay beyond the power of the *Democratic* leaders and would only have occasioned the desertion of their army to the Republican camp. On the other hand, Douglas's "settlers' sovereignty" could not satisfy the slaveholders' party. What it wanted to effect had to be effected within the next four

years under the new President, could only be effected by the resources of the central government and brooked no further delay. It did not escape the slaveholders that a new power had arisen, the *North-west*, whose population, having almost doubled between 1850 and 1860, was already pretty well equal to the white population of the slave states—a power that was not inclined either by tradition, temperament or mode of life to let itself be dragged from compromise to compromise in the manner of the old North-eastern states. The Union was still of value to the South only so far as it handed over Federal power to it as a means of carrying out the slave policy. If not, then it was better to make the break now than to look on at the development of the Republican Party and the upsurge of the North-west for another four years and begin the struggle under more unfavourable conditions. The slaveholders' party therefore played *va banque!** When the Democrats of the North declined to go on playing the part of the "poor whites" of the South, the South secured Lincoln's victory by splitting the vote, and then took this victory as a pretext for drawing the sword from the scabbard.

The whole movement was and is based, as one sees, on the *slave question*. Not in the sense of whether the slaves within the existing slave states should be emancipated outright or not, but whether the twenty million free men of the North should submit any longer to an oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders; whether the vast Territories of the republic should be nurseries for free states or for slavery; finally, whether the national policy of the Union should take armed spreading of slavery in Mexico, Central and South America as its device.

In another article we will probe the assertion of the London press that the North must sanction secession as the most favourable and only possible solution of the conflict.

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* That is, staked all on a single card.—Ed.

* THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES

"Let him go, he is not worth thine ire!" Again and again English statesmanship cries—recently through the mouth of Lord John Russell—to the North of the United States this advice of Leporello to Don Juan's deserted love. If the North lets the South go, it then frees itself from any admixture of slavery, from its historical original sin, and creates the basis of a new and higher development.

In reality, if North and South formed two autonomous countries, like, for example, England and Hanover, their separation would be no more difficult than was the separation of England and Hanover.⁴³ "*The South*," however, is neither a territory closely sealed off from the North geographically, nor a moral unity. It is not a country at all, but a battle slogan.

The advice of an amicable separation presupposes that the Southern Confederacy, although it assumed the offensive in the Civil War, at least wages it for defensive purposes. It is believed that the issue for the slaveholders' party is merely one of uniting the territories it has hitherto dominated into an autonomous group of states and withdrawing them from the supreme authority of the Union. Nothing could be more false: "*The South needs its entire territory*. It will and must have it." With this battle-cry the secessionists fell upon Kentucky. By their "entire territory" they understand in the first place all the so-called *border states*—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas. Besides, they lay claim to the entire territory south of the line that runs from the north-west corner of Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. What the slaveholders, therefore, call the South, embraces more than three-quarters of the territory hitherto comprised by the Union. A large part of the territory thus claimed is still in the possession of the Union and would first have to be conquered from it. None of the so-called border states, however, not even those in the possession of the Confederacy, were ever *actual slave states*. Rather, they constitute the area of the United States in which the system of slavery and the system of free labour exist side by side and contend for mastery, the actual field of battle between South and North, between slavery and freedom. The war of the Southern Confederacy is, therefore, not a war of defence, but a war of conquest, a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery.

The chain of mountains that begins in Alabama and stretches northwards to the Hudson River—the spinal column, as it were, of the United States—cuts the so-called South into three parts. The mountainous country formed by the Allegheny Mountains with their two parallel ranges, the Cumberland Range to the west and the Blue Mountains to the east, divides wedge-like the lowlands along the western coast of the Atlantic Ocean from the lowlands in the southern valleys of the Mississippi. The two lowlands separated by the mountainous country, with their vast rice swamps and far-flung cotton plantations, are the actual area of slavery. The long wedge of mountainous country driven into the heart of slavery, with its correspondingly clear atmosphere, an invigorating climate and a soil rich in coal, salt, limestone, iron ore, gold, in short, every raw material necessary for a many-sided industrial development, is already for the most part free country. In accordance with its physical constitution, the soil here can only be cultivated with success by free small farmers. Here the slave system vegetates only sporadically and has never struck root. In the largest part of the so-called border states, the dwellers of these highlands comprise the core of the free population, which sides with the Northern party if only for the sake of self-preservation.

Let us consider the contested territory in detail.

Delaware, the most north-eastern of the border states, is factually and morally in the possession of the Union. All the attempts of the secessionists at forming even one faction favourable to them have since the beginning of the war suffered shipwreck on the unanimity of the population. The slave element of this state has long been in process of dying out. From 1850 to 1860 alone the number of slaves diminished by half, so that with a total population of 112,218 Delaware now numbers only 1,798 slaves. Nevertheless, Delaware is demanded by the Southern Confederacy and would in fact be militarily untenable for the North as soon as the South possessed itself of Maryland.

In *Maryland* itself the above-mentioned conflict between highlands and lowlands takes place. Out of a total population of 687,034 there are here 87,188 slaves. That the overwhelming majority of the population is on the side of the Union has again been strikingly proved by the recent general elections to the Congress in Washington. The army of 30,000 Union troops, which holds Maryland at the moment, is intended not only to serve the army on the Potomac as a reserve, but, in particular, also to hold in check the rebellious slave-owners in the interior of the country. For here we observe a phenomenon similar to what we see in other border states where the great mass of the people stands for the North and a numerically insignificant slaveholders' party for the South. What it lacks in numbers, the slaveholders' party makes up in the means of power that many years' possession of all state offices, hereditary

engagement in political intrigue and concentration of great wealth in few hands have secured for it.

Virginia now forms the great cantonment where the main army of secession and the main army of the Union confront each other. In the north-west highlands of Virginia the number of slaves is 15,000, whilst the twenty times as large free population consists mostly of free farmers. The eastern lowlands of Virginia, on the other hand, count well-nigh half a million slaves. Raising Negroes and the sale of the Negroes to the Southern states form the principal source of income of these lowlands. As soon as the ringleaders of the lowlands had carried through the secession ordinance by intrigues in the state legislature at Richmond and had in all haste opened the gates of Virginia to the Southern army, north-west Virginia seceded from the secession, formed a new state, and under the banner of the Union now defends its territory arms in hand against the Southern invaders.

Tennessee, with 1,109,847 inhabitants, 275,784 of whom are slaves, finds itself in the hands of the Southern Confederacy, which has placed the whole state under martial law and under a system of proscription which recalls the days of the Roman Triumvirates. When in the winter of 1861 the slaveholders proposed a general convention of the people which was to vote for secession or non-secession, the majority of the people rejected any convention, in order to remove any pretext for the secession movement. Later, when Tennessee was already militarily overrun and subjected to a system of terror by the Southern Confederacy, more than a third of the voters at the elections still declared themselves for the Union. Here, as in most of the border states, the mountainous country, *east Tennessee*, forms the real centre of resistance to the slaveholders' party. On June 17, 1861, a General Convention of the people of east Tennessee assembled in Greenville, declared itself for the Union, deputed the former governor of the state, Andrew Johnson, one of the most ardent Unionists, to the Senate in Washington and published a "declaration of grievances", which lays bare all the means of deception, intrigue and terror by which Tennessee was "voted out" of the Union. Since then the secessionists have held east Tennessee in check by force of arms.

Similar relationships to those in West Virginia and east Tennessee are found in the north of Alabama, in north-west Georgia and in the north of North Carolina.

Further west, in the border state of *Missouri*, with 1,173,317 inhabitants and 114,965 slaves—the latter mostly concentrated in the north-west of the state—the people's convention of August 1861 decided for the Union. Jackson, the governor of the state and the tool of the slaveholders' party, rebelled against the legislature of Missouri, was outlawed and took the lead of the armed hordes that fell upon Missouri

from Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee, in order to bring it to its knees before the Confederacy and sever its bond with the Union by the sword. Next to Virginia, Missouri is at the present moment the main theatre of the Civil War.

New Mexico—not a state, but merely a Territory, into which twenty-five slaves were imported during Buchanan's presidency in order to send a slave constitution after them from Washington—had no craving for the South, as even the latter concedes. But the South has a craving for New Mexico and accordingly spewed an armed band of adventurers from *Texas* over the border. New Mexico has implored the protection of the Union government against these liberators.

It will have been observed that we lay particular emphasis on the numerical proportion of slaves to free men in the individual border states. This proportion is in fact decisive. It is the thermometer with which the vital fire of the slave system must be measured. The soul of the whole secession movement is *South Carolina*. It has 402,541 slaves and 301,271 free men. *Mississippi*, which has given the Southern Confederacy its dictator, Jefferson Davis, comes second. It has 436,696 slaves and 354,699 free men. *Alabama* comes third, with 435,132 slaves and 529,164 free men.

The last of the contested border states, which we have still to mention, is *Kentucky*. Its recent history is particularly characteristic of the policy of the Southern Confederacy. Among its 1,135,713 inhabitants Kentucky has 225,490 slaves. In three successive general elections by the people—in the winter of 1861, when elections to a congress of the border states were held; in June 1861, when elections to the Congress in Washington took place; finally, in August 1861, in elections to the legislature of the State of Kentucky—an ever increasing majority decided for the Union. On the other hand, Magoffin, the Governor of Kentucky, and all the high officials of the state are fanatical supporters of the slaveholders' party, as is Breckinridge, Kentucky's representative in the Senate in Washington, Vice-President of the United States under Buchanan, and candidate of the slaveholders' party in the presidential election of 1860. Too weak to win over Kentucky for secession, the influence of the slaveholders' party was strong enough to make this state amenable to a declaration of neutrality on the outbreak of war. The Confederacy recognised the neutrality as long as it served its purposes, as long as the Confederacy itself was engaged in crushing the resistance in east Tennessee. Hardly was this end attained when it knocked at the gates of Kentucky with the butt of a gun to the cry of: "*The South needs its entire territory. It will and must have it!*"

From the south-west and south-east its corps of free-booters simultaneously invaded the "neutral" state. Kentucky awoke from its dream of neutrality, its legislature openly took sides with the Union,

surrounded the traitorous Governor with a committee of public safety, called the people to arms, outlawed Breckinridge and ordered the secessionists to evacuate the invaded territory immediately. This was the signal for war. An army of the Southern Confederacy is moving on Louisville, while volunteers from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio flock hither to save Kentucky from the armed missionaries of slavery.

The attempts of the Confederacy to annex Missouri and Kentucky, for example, against the will of these states, prove the hollowness of the pretext that it is fighting for the rights of the individual states against the encroachments of the Union. On the individual states that it considers to belong to the "South" it confers, to be sure, the right to separate from the Union, but by no means the right to remain in the Union.

Even the actual slave states, however much external war, internal military dictatorship and slavery give them everywhere for the moment a semblance of harmony, are nevertheless not without oppositional elements. A striking example is *Texas*, with 180,388 slaves out of 601,039 inhabitants. The law of 1845, by virtue of which Texas became a State of the Union as a slave state, entitled it to form not merely one, but five states out of its territory. The South would thereby have gained ten new votes instead of two in the American Senate, and an increase in the number of its votes in the Senate was a major object of its policy at that time. From 1845 to 1860, however, the slaveholders found it impracticable to cut up Texas, where the German population plays an important part, into even two states without giving the party of free labour the upper hand over the party of slavery in the second state. This furnishes the best proof of the strength of the opposition to the slaveholding oligarchy in Texas itself.

Georgia is the largest and most populous of the slave states. It has 462,230 slaves out of a total of 1,057,327 inhabitants, therefore nearly half the population. Nevertheless, the slaveholders' party has not so far succeeded in getting the Constitution imposed on the South at Montgomery sanctioned by a general vote of the people in Georgia.

In the State Convention of *Louisiana*, meeting on March 21, 1861, at New Orleans, Roselius, the political veteran of the state, declared:

"The Montgomery Constitution is not a constitution, but a conspiracy. It does not inaugurate a government of the people, but a *detestable and unrestricted oligarchy*. The people were not permitted to have any say in this matter. The Convention of Montgomery has dug the grave of political liberty, and now we are summoned to attend its burial."

Indeed, the oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders utilised the Congress of Montgomery not only to proclaim the separation of the South from the North. It exploited it at the same time to reshape the internal constitutions of the slave states, to subjugate com-

pletely the section of the white population that had still preserved some independence under the protection and the democratic Constitution of the Union. Between 1856 to 1860 the political spokesmen, jurists, moralists and theologians of the slaveholders' party had already sought to prove, not so much that Negro slavery is justified, but rather that colour is a matter of indifference and the working class is everywhere born to slavery.

One sees, therefore, that the war of the Southern Confederacy is in the true sense of the word a war of conquest for the spread and perpetuation of slavery. The greater part of the border states and Territories are still in the possession of the Union, whose side they have taken first through the ballot-box and then with arms. The Confederacy, however, counts them for the "*South*" and seeks to conquer them from the Union. In the border states which the Confederacy has occupied for the time being, it is holding the relatively free highlands in check by martial law. Within the actual slave states themselves it is supplanting the hitherto existing democracy by the unrestricted oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders.

Were it to relinquish its plans of conquest, the Southern Confederacy would relinquish its capacity to live and the purpose of secession. Secession, indeed, only took place because within the Union the transformation of the border states and Territories into slave states seemed no longer attainable. On the other hand, were it to cede the contested territory peacefully to the Southern Confederacy, the North would surrender to the slave republic more than three-quarters of the entire territory of the United States. The North would lose the whole of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, except the narrow strip from Penobscot Bay to Delaware Bay, and would even cut itself off from the Pacific Ocean. Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Arkansas and Texas would draw California after them.⁴⁴ Incapable of wresting the mouth of the Mississippi from the hands of the strong, hostile slave republic in the South, the great agricultural states in the basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghenies, in the valleys of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, would be compelled by their economic interests to secede from the North and enter the Southern Confederacy. These north-western states, in their turn, would draw after them into the same whirlpool of secession all the Northern states lying further east, with perhaps the exception of the states of New England.

What would in fact take place would be not a dissolution of the Union, but a *reorganisation* of it, a *reorganisation on the basis of slavery*, under the recognised control of the slaveholding oligarchy. The plan of such a reorganisation has been openly proclaimed by the principal speakers of the South at the Congress of Montgomery and

explains the paragraph of the new Constitution which leaves it open to every state of the old Union to join the new Confederacy. The slave system would infect the whole Union. In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry.⁴⁵ This would fully accord with the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom, and as the actual labour is the lot of the Negro in the South, so in the North it is the lot of the German and the Irishman, or their direct descendants.

The present struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labour. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other.

If the border states, the disputed areas in which the two systems have hitherto contended for domination, are a thorn in the flesh of the South, there can, on the other hand, be no mistake that, in the course of the war up to now, they have constituted the chief weakness of the North. One section of the slaveholders in these districts simulated loyalty to the North at the bidding of the conspirators in the South; another section found that in fact it was in accordance with their real interests and traditional ideas to go with the Union. Both sections have equally crippled the North. Anxiety to keep the "loyal" slaveholders of the border states in good humour; fear of throwing them into the arms of secession, in a word, tender regard for the interests, prejudices and sensibilities of this ambiguous allies, has smitten the Union government with incurable weakness since the beginning of the war, driven it to half measures, forced it to dissemble away the principle of the war and to spare the foe's most vulnerable spot, the root of the evil—*slavery itself*.

When, only recently, Lincoln pusillanimously revoked Frémont's Missouri proclamation on the emancipation of Negroes belonging to the rebels,⁴⁶ this was done solely out of regard for the loud protest of the "loyal" slaveholders of Kentucky. However, a turning point has already been reached. With Kentucky, the last border state has been pushed into the series of battlefields between South and North. With the real war for the border states in the border states themselves, the question of winning or losing them is withdrawn from the sphere of diplomatic and parliamentary discussions. One section of slaveholders will throw off the mask of loyalty; the other will content itself with the prospect of a financial compensation such as Great Britain gave the West Indian planters.⁴⁷ Events themselves drive to the promulgation of the decisive slogan—*emancipation of the slaves*.

That even the most hardened Democrats and diplomats of the North

feel themselves drawn to this point, is shown by some announcements of very recent date. In an open letter, General Cass, Secretary of State for War under Buchanan and hitherto one of the most ardent allies of the South, declares emancipation of the slaves the *conditio sine qua non** of the Union's salvation. In his last *Review* for October, Dr. Brownson, the spokesman of the Catholic party of the North, on his own admission the most energetic adversary of the emancipation movement from 1836 to 1860, publishes an article for Abolition.

"If we have opposed Abolition heretofore," he says among other things, "because we would preserve the Union, we must *a fortiori* now oppose slavery whenever, in our judgment, its continuance becomes incompatible with the maintenance of the Union, or of the nation as a free republican state."

Finally, the *World*, a New York organ of the diplomats of the Washington Cabinet, concludes one of its latest blustering articles against the Abolitionists with the words:

"On the day when it shall be decided that either slavery or the Union must go down, on that day sentence of death is passed on slavery. If the North cannot triumph *without* emancipation, it will triumph *with* emancipation."

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* THE DISMISSAL OF FRÉMONT

Frémont's dismissal from the post of Commander-in-Chief in Missouri forms a turning point in the history of the development of the American Civil War. Frémont has two great sins to expiate. He was the first candidate of the Republican Party for the presidential office (1856), and he is the first general of the North to have threatened the slaveholders with emancipation of slaves (August 30, 1861).⁴⁸ He remains, therefore, a rival of candidates for the presidency in the future and an obstacle to the makers of compromises in the present.

During the last two decades the singular practice developed in the United States of not electing to the presidency any man who occupied an authoritative position in his own party. The names of such men, it is true, were utilised for election demonstrations, but as soon as it came to actual business, they were dropped and replaced by unknown mediocrities of merely local influence. In this manner Polk, Pierce, Buchanan, etc., became Presidents. Likewise Abraham Lincoln. General Andrew Jackson was in fact the last President of the United States who owed his office to his personal importance, whilst all his successors owed it, on the contrary, to their personal unimportance.

In the election year 1860, the most distinguished names of the Republican Party were Frémont and Seward. Known for his adventures during the Mexican War,⁴⁹ for his intrepid exploration of California and his candidacy of 1856, Frémont was too striking a figure even to come under consideration as soon as it was no longer a question of a Republican demonstration, but of a Republican success. He did not, therefore, stand as a candidate. It was otherwise with Seward, a Republican Senator in the Congress at Washington, Governor of the State of New York and, since the rise of the Republican Party, unquestionably its leading orator. It required a series of mortifying defeats to induce Mr. Seward to renounce his own candidacy and to give his oratorical patronage to the then more or less unknown Abraham Lincoln. As soon, however, as he saw his attempt to stand as a candidate fail, he imposed himself as a Republican Richelieu on a man whom he considered as a Republican Louis XIII. He contributed towards making Lincoln President, on condition that Lincoln made him Secretary of State, an office which is in some measure comparable with that of a British Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, Lincoln was hardly

* Indispensable condition.—Ed.

President-elect, when Seward secured the Secretaryship of State. Immediately a singular change took place in the attitude of the Demosthenes of the Republican Party, whom the prophesying of the "irrepressible conflict"⁵⁰ between the system of free labour and the system of slavery had made famous. Although elected on November 6, 1860, Lincoln took up office as President only on March 4, 1861. In the interval, during the winter session of Congress, Seward made himself the central figure of all attempts at compromise; the Northern organs of the South, such as the *New York Herald*, for example, whose *bête noire* Seward had been till then, suddenly extolled him as the statesman of reconciliation and, indeed, it was not his fault that peace at any price was not achieved. Seward manifestly regarded the post of Secretary of State as a mere preliminary step, and busied himself less with the "irrepressible conflict" of the present than with the presidency of the future. He has provided fresh proof that virtuosos of the tongue are dangerously inadequate statesmen. Read his state dispatches! What a repulsive mixture of magniloquence and petty-mindedness, of simulated strength and real weakness!

For Seward, therefore, Frémont was the dangerous rival who had to be ruined; an undertaking that appeared so much the easier since Lincoln, in accordance with his legal tradition, has an aversion for all genius, anxiously clings to the letter of the Constitution and fights shy of every step that could mislead the "loyal" slaveholders of the border states. Frémont's character offered another hold. He is manifestly a man of pathos, somewhat high-stepping and haughty, and not without a touch of the melodramatic. First the government attempted to drive him to voluntary retirement by a succession of petty chicaneries. When this did not succeed, it deprived him of his command at the very moment when the army he himself had organised came face to face with the foe in south-west Missouri and a decisive battle was imminent.

Frémont is the idol of the states of the North-west, which sing his praises as the "pathfinder".⁵¹ They regard his dismissal as a personal insult. Should the Union government meet with a few more mishaps like those of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff,⁵² it has itself given the opposition, which will then rise up against it and smash the hitherto prevailing diplomatic system of waging war, its leader in John Frémont. We shall return later to the indictment of the dismissed general published by the War Department in Washington.

Written about November 19, 1861

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*) THE TRENT CASE

London, November 28, 1861

The conflict of the English mail ship *Trent* with the North American warship *San Jacinto* in the narrow passage of the Old Bahama Channel is the lion among the events of the day. In the afternoon of November 27 the mail ship *La Plata* brought the news of the incident to Southampton, where the electric telegraph at once flashed it to all parts of Great Britain. The same evening the London Stock Exchange was the stage of stormy scenes similar to those at the time of the announcement of the Italian war. Quotations for government stock sank three-quarters to one per cent. The wildest rumours circulated in London. The American Ambassador, Adams, was said to have been given his passport, an embargo to have been imposed on all American ships in the Thames, etc. At the same time a protest meeting of merchants was held at the Stock Exchange in Liverpool, to demand measures from the British Government for the satisfaction of the violated honour of the British flag. Every sound-minded Englishman went to bed with the conviction that he would go to sleep in a state of peace but wake up in a state of war.

Nevertheless, the fact is well-nigh categorically established that the conflict between the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto* brings *no war* in its train. The semi-official press, like *The Times* and *The Morning Post*, strikes a peaceful note and pours juridically cool deductions on the flickerings of passion. Papers like the *Daily Telegraph*, which at the faintest *mot d'ordre** roar for the British lion, are true models of moderation. Only the Tory opposition press, *The Morning Herald* and *The Standard*, hits out. These facts force every expert to conclude that the ministry has already decided not to make a *casus belli*** out of the "untoward event".

It must be added that the event, if not the details of its enactment, was anticipated. On October 12, Messrs. Slidell, Confederacy emissary to France, and Mason, Confederacy emissary to England, together with their secretaries Eustis and MacFarland, had run the blockade of Charleston on the steamship *Theodora* and sailed for Havana, there to seek the opportunity of a passage to Europe under the British flag. In

* Watchword.—*Ed.*

** Act justifying war.—*Ed.*

England their arrival was expected daily. North American warships had set out from Liverpool to intercept the gentlemen, with their dispatches, on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. The British ministry had already submitted the question whether the North Americans were entitled to take such a step to its official jurisconsults for their opinion. Their answer is said to have been in the affirmative.

The legal question turns in a narrow circle. Since the foundation of the United States, North America has adopted *British* maritime law in all its rigour. A major principle of this maritime law is that all *neutral merchantmen* are subject to *search* by the belligerent parties.

"This right," said Lord Stowell in a judgment which has become famous, "offers the sole security that no contraband is carried on neutral ships."

The greatest American authority, *Kent*, states in the same sense:

"The right of self-preservation gives belligerent nations this right. The doctrine of the *British* admiralty on the right of visitation and search ... has been recognised in its fullest extent by the courts of justice in our country."

It was not opposition to the right of search, as is sometimes erroneously suggested, that brought about the Anglo-American War of 1812 to 1814. Rather, America declared war because England *unlawfully* presumed to search even American *warships*, on the pretext of catching deserters from the British Navy.

The *San Jacinto*, therefore, had the right to search the *Trent* and to confiscate any contraband stowed aboard her. That *dispatches* in the possession of Mason, Slidell and Co. come under the category of contraband even *The Times*, *The Morning Post*, etc., admit. There remains the question whether Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co. were themselves contraband and might consequently be confiscated! The point is a ticklish one and differences of opinion prevail among the doctors of law. *Pratt*, the most distinguished British authority on "Contraband", in the section on "*Quasi-Contraband-Dispatches, Passengers*" specifically refers to "communication of information and orders from a belligerent government to its officers abroad, or the conveyance of military passengers".⁵³ Messrs. Mason and Slidell, if not officers, were just as little ambassadors, since their governments are recognised neither by Britain nor by France. What are they, then? In justification of the very broad conceptions of contraband asserted by Britain in the Anglo-French wars, *Jefferson* already remarks in his memoirs⁵⁴ that contraband, by its nature, precludes any exhaustive definition and necessarily leaves great scope for arbitrariness. In any event, however, one sees that from the standpoint of English law the *legal question* dwindles to a *Duns Scotus* controversy,⁵⁵ the explosive force of which will not go beyond exchange of diplomatic notes.

The *political* aspect of the North American procedure was estimated quite correctly by *The Times* in these words:

"Even Mr. Seward himself must know that the voices of the Southern commissioners, sounding from their captivity, are a thousand times more eloquent in London and in Paris than they would have been if they had been heard in St. James's and the Tuilleries."

And is not the Confederacy already represented in London by Messrs. Yancey and Mann?

We regard this latest operation of Mr. Seward as a characteristic act of tactlessness by self-conscious weakness simulating strength. If the naval incident hastens Seward's removal from the Washington Cabinet, the United States will have no reason to record it as an "untoward event" in the annals of its Civil War.

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December, 2, 1861

*)THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFLICT

London, November 29, 1861

The law officers of the Crown⁵⁶ had yesterday to give their opinion on the naval incident in the Bahama Channel. Their records of the case consisted of the written reports of the British officers who have remained on board the *Trent* and of the oral testimony of Commodore Williams, who was on board the *Trent* as Admiralty agent, but disembarked from the *La Plata* on November 27 at Southampton, whence he was immediately summoned by telegraph to London. The law officers of the Crown acknowledged the right of the *San Jacinto* to visit and search the *Trent*. Since Queen Victoria's proclamation of neutrality on the outbreak of the American Civil War expressly lists *dispatches* among articles of contraband,⁵⁷ there could be no doubt on this point either. There remained, then, the question whether Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co. were themselves contraband and therefore confiscable. The law officers of the Crown appear to hold this view, for they have dropped the *material* legal question entirely. According to the report of *The Times*, their opinion blames the commander of the *San Jacinto* only for an *error in procedure*. Instead of Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co., he should have taken the *Trent* herself in tow as a prize, brought her to the nearest American port and there submitted her to the judgment of a North American prize court.⁵⁸ This is uncontestedly the procedure corresponding to British and therefore to North American maritime law.

It is equally incontestable that the British frequently violated this rule during the anti-Jacobin war and proceeded in the summary fashion of the *San Jacinto*. However that may be, the whole conflict is reduced by this opinion of the law officers of the Crown to a *technical error* and consequently deprived of any immediate import. Two circumstances make it easy for the Union government to accept this point of view and therefore to afford formal satisfaction. In the first place, Captain Wilkes, the commander of the *San Jacinto*, could have received no direct instructions from Washington. On the voyage home from Africa to New York, he called on November 2 at Havana, which he left again on November 4, whilst his encounter with the *Trent* took place on the high seas on November 8. Captain Wilkes's stay of only two days in Havana did not permit any exchange of notes between him and his government. The consul of the Union was the only American authority

with whom he could deal. In the second place, however, he had obviously lost his head, as his failure to insist on the surrender of the dispatches proves.

The importance of the incident lies in its moral effect on the English people and in the political capital that can easily be made out of it by the British cotton friends of secession. Characteristic of the latter is the Liverpool protest meeting organised by them and previously mentioned by me.* The meeting took place on November 27 at three in the afternoon, in the cotton auction-rooms of the Liverpool Exchange, an hour after the alarming telegram from Southampton had arrived.

After vain attempts to press the chairmanship on Mr. Cunard, the owner of the Cunard steamships plying between Liverpool and New York, and other high trade officials, a young merchant named *Spence*, notorious for a work he wrote in support of the slave republic,⁵⁹ took the chair. Contrary to the rules of English meetings, he, the chairman, himself proposed the motion to call on "the government to preserve the dignity of the British flag by demanding prompt satisfaction for this affront." Tremendous applause, clapping and cheers upon cheers! The main argument of the opening speaker for the slave republic was that slave ships had hitherto been protected by the American flag from the right of search claimed by Britain. And then this philanthropist launched a furious attack on the slave trade! He admitted that England had brought about the war of 1812-14 with the United States by insisting on searching for deserters from the British Navy on Union warships.

"But," he continued with wonderful dialectic, "but there is a difference between the right of search to recover deserters from the British Navy and the right to seize passengers, like Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, men of the highest respectability, regardless of the fact that they were protected by the British flag!"

He played his highest trump, however, at the close of his diatribe.

The other day—he bellowed—while I was on the European Continent, I heard an observation made as to the course of our conduct in regard to the United States, and I was unable to reply to the allusion without a blush—that the feeling of every intelligent man upon the Continent was that we would submit to any outrage and suffer every indignity offered to us by the Government of the United States. But the pitcher goes so often to the well that it is broken at last. Our patience had been exercised long enough—as long as it was possible to control it. At last we have arrived at facts: this is a very hard and startling fact [!] and it is the duty of every Englishman to apprise the Government of how strong and unanimous is the feeling of this great community of the outrage offered to our flag.

This senseless rigmarole was greeted with a peal of applause. Opposing voices were howled down and hissed down and stamped down. To

* See pp. 103-05 of this book.—Ed.

the remark of a Mr. Campbell that the whole meeting was irregular, the inexorable Spence replied: "I perfectly agree with you that it is a little irregular but at the same time the fact that we have met to consider is rather an irregular fact." To the proposal of a Mr. Turner to adjourn the meeting to the following day, in order that "the city of Liverpool can have its say and not a clique of cotton brokers usurp its name", cries of "Collar him, throw him out!" resounded from all sides. Unperturbed, Mr. Turner repeated his motion, which, however, was not put to the vote, again contrary to all the rules of English meetings. Spence triumphed. But, as a matter of fact, nothing has done more to cool London's temper than the news of Mr. Spence's triumph.

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LESSONS OF THE AMERICAN WAR

When, a few weeks back, we drew attention to the process of weeding which had become necessary in the American volunteer army, we were far from exhausting the valuable lessons this war is continually giving to the volunteers on this side of the Atlantic. We therefore beg leave again to revert to the subject.

The kind of warfare which is now carried on in America is really without precedent. From the Missouri to Chesapeake Bay, a million of men, nearly equally divided into two hostile camps, have now been facing each other for some six months without coming to a single general action. In Missouri, the two armies advance, retire, give battle, advance, and retire again in turns, without any visible result; even now, after seven months of marching and counter-marching, which must have laid the country waste to a fearful degree, things appear as far from any decision as ever. In Kentucky, after a lengthened period of apparent neutrality,⁶⁰ but real preparation, a similar state of things appears to be impending; in Western Virginia, constant minor actions occur without any apparent result; and on the Potomac, where the greatest masses on both sides are concentrated, almost within sight of each other, neither party cares to attack, proving that, as matters stand, even a victory would be of no use at all. And unless circumstances foreign to this state of things cause a great change, this barren system of warfare may be continued for months to come.

How are we to account for this?

The Americans have, on either side, almost nothing but volunteers. The little nucleus of the former United States' regular army has either dissolved, or it is too weak to leaven the enormous mass of raw recruits which have accumulated at the seat of war. To shape all these men into soldiers, there are not even drill-sergeants enough. Teaching, consequently, must go on very slow, and there is really no telling how long it may take until the fine material of men collected on both shores of the Potomac will be fit to be moved about in large masses, and to give or accept battle with its combined forces.

But even if the men could be taught their drill in some reasonable time, there are not officers enough to lead them. Not to speak of the company officers—who necessarily cannot be taken from among civilians—there are not officers enough for commanders of battalions,

even if every lieutenant and ensign of the regulars were appointed to such a post. A considerable number of civilian colonels are therefore unavoidable; and nobody who knows our own volunteers will think either McClellan or Beauregard over timid if they decline entering upon aggressive action or complicated strategical manœuvres with civilian colonels of six months' standing to execute their orders.

We will suppose, however, that this difficulty was, upon the whole, overcome; that the civilian colonels, with their uniforms, had also acquired the knowledge, experience, and tact required in the performance of their duties—at least, as far as the infantry is concerned. But how will it be for the cavalry? To train a regiment of cavalry, requires more time, and more experience in the training officers, than to get a regiment of infantry into shape. Suppose the men join their corps, all of them, with a sufficient knowledge of horsemanship—that is to say, they can stick on their horses, have command over them, and know how to groom and feed them—this will scarcely shorten the time required for training. Military riding, that control over your horse by which you make him go through all the movements necessary in cavalry evolutions, is a very different thing from the riding commonly practised by civilians. Napoleon's cavalry, which Sir William Napier (*History of the Peninsular War*⁶¹) considered almost better than the English cavalry of the time, notoriously consisted of the very worst riders that ever graced a saddle; and many of our best cross-country riders found, on entering mounted volunteer corps, that they had a deal to learn yet. We need not be astonished, then, to find that the Americans are very deficient in cavalry, and that what little they have consists of a kind of Cossacks or Indian irregulars (rangers), unfit for a charge in a body.

For artillery, they must be worse off still; and equally so for engineers. Both these are highly scientific arms, and require a long and careful training in both officers and non-commissioned officers, and certainly more training in the men too, than infantry does. Artillery, moreover, is a more complicated arm than even cavalry; you require guns, horses broken in for this kind of driving, and two classes of trained men—gunners and drivers; you require, besides, numerous ammunition-waggons, and large laboratories for the ammunition, forges, workshops, &c.; the whole provided with complicated machinery. The Federals are stated to have, altogether, 600 guns in the field; but how these may be served, we can easily imagine, knowing that it is utterly impossible to turn out 100 complete, well-appointed, and well-served batteries out of nothing in six months.

But suppose, again, that all these difficulties had been overcome, and that the fighting portion of the two hostile sections of Americans was in fair condition for their work, could they move even then? Certainly not. An army must be fed; and a large army in a comparatively thinly-

populated country such as Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, must be chiefly fed from magazines. Its supply of ammunition has to be replenished; it must be followed by gunsmiths, saddlers, joiners, and other artisans, to keep its fighting tackle in good order. All these requisites shone by their absence in America; they had to be organised out of almost nothing; and we have no evidence whatever to show that even now the commissariat and transport of either army has emerged from babyhood.

America, both North and South, Federal and Confederate, had no military organisation, so to speak. The army of the line was totally inadequate, by its numbers, for service against any respectable enemy; the militia was almost non-existent. The former wars of the Union never put the military strength of the country on its mettle; England, between 1812 and 1814, had not many men to spare, and Mexico defended herself chiefly by the merest rabble. The fact is, from her geographical position, America had no enemies who could anywhere attack her with more than 30,000 or 40,000 regulars at the very worst; and to such numbers the immense extent of the country would soon prove a more formidable obstacle than any troops America could bring against them; while her army was sufficient to form a nucleus for some 100,000 volunteers, and to train them in reasonable time. But when a civil war called forth more than a million of fighting men, the whole system broke down, and everything had to be begun at the beginning. The results are before us. Two immense, unwieldy bodies of men, each afraid of the other, and almost as afraid of victory as of defeat, are facing each other, trying, at an immense cost, to settle down into something like a regular organisation. The waste of money, frightful as it is, is quite unavoidable, from the total absence of that organised groundwork upon which the structure could have been built. With ignorance and inexperience ruling supreme in every department, how could it be otherwise? On the other hand, the return for the outlay, in efficiency and organisation, is extremely poor; and could that be otherwise?

The British volunteers may thank their stars that they found, on starting, a numerous, well-disciplined, and experienced army to take them under its wings. Allowing for the prejudices inherent to all trades, that army has received and treated them well. It is to be hoped that neither the volunteers nor the public will ever think that the new service can ever supersede, in any degree, the old one. If there are any such, a glance at the state of the two American volunteer armies ought to prove to them their own ignorance and folly. No army newly formed out of civilians can ever subsist in an efficient state unless it is trained and supported by the immense intellectual and material resources which are deposited in the hands of a proportionately strong regular

army, and principally by that organisation which forms the chief strength of the regulars. Suppose an invasion to threaten England, and compare what would be then done with what is unavoidably done in America. In England, the War-office, with the assistance of a few more clerks, easily to be found among trained military men, would be up to the transaction of all the additional labour an army of 300,000 volunteers would entail; there are half-pay officers enough to take, say three or four battalions of volunteers each under their special inspection, and, with some effort, every battalion might be provided with a line-officer as adjutant and one as colonel. Cavalry, of course, could not be improvised; but a resolute reorganisation of the artillery volunteers—with officers and drivers from the Royal Artillery—would help to man many a field-battery. The civil engineers in the country only wait for an opportunity to receive that training in the military side of their profession which would at once turn them into first-rate engineer officers. The commissariat and transport services are organised, and may soon be made to supply the wants of 400,000 men quite as easily as those of 100,000. Nothing would be disorganised, nothing upset; everywhere there would be aid and assistance for the volunteers, who would nowhere have to grope in the dark; and—barring some of those blunders which England cannot do without when first she plunges into a war—we can see no reason why in six weeks everything should not work pretty smoothly.

Now, look to America, and then say what a regular army is worth to a rising army of volunteers.

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November 1861

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*CONTROVERSY OVER THE TRENT CASE

London, December 7, 1861

The Palmerston press—and on another occasion I will show that in foreign affairs Palmerston's control over nine-tenths of the English press is just as *absolute* as Louis Bonaparte's over nine-tenths of the French press—the Palmerston press feels that it works among “pleasing hindrances”.* On the one hand, it admits that the law officers of the Crown have reduced the accusation against the United States to a *mere mistake in procedure*, to a *technical error*. On the other hand, it boasts that on the basis of such a legal quibble a *haughty ultimatum* has been presented to the United States such as can only be justified by a gross violation of law, but not by a formal error in the exercise of a recognised right. Accordingly, the Palmerston press now pleads the *material* legal question again. The great importance of the case appears to demand a brief examination of the *material* legal question.

By way of introduction, it may be observed that not a single English paper ventures to reproach the *San Jacinto* for the visitation and search of the *Trent*. This point, therefore, falls outside the controversy.

First, we again call to mind the relevant passage in Victoria's proclamation of neutrality of May 13, 1861. The passage reads:

Victoria R.

“Whereas we are at peace with the United States ... we do hereby strictly charge ... all our loving subjects ... to abstain from contravening ... our Royal Proclamation ... by breaking ... any blockade lawfully ... established ... or by carrying officers ... *dispatches* ... or any article or articles considered contraband of war.... All persons so offending will be liable ... to the several penalties and penal consequences by the said Statute or by the law of nations in that behalf imposed.... And ... persons who may misconduct themselves ... will do so at their peril ... and ... will ... incur our high displeasure by such misconduct.”

This proclamation of Queen Victoria, therefore, in the first place declared *dispatches* to be contraband and make the ship that carries such contraband liable to the “penalties of the law of nations”. What are these penalties?

Wheaton, an American writer on international law whose authority is recognised on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean alike, says in his *Elements of International Law*, p. 565⁶²:

* Heinrich Heine, “Neuer Frühling”, Prolog.—Ed.

"The fraudulent carrying of dispatches of the enemy will also subject the neutral vessel in which they are transported to *capture* and *confiscation*. The consequences of such a service are indefinite, infinitely beyond the effect of any contraband that can be conveyed. 'The carrying of two or three cargoes of military stores,' says Sir W. Scott [the judge], 'is necessarily an assistance of limited nature; but in the transmission of dispatches may be conveyed the entire plan of a campaign, that may defeat all the plans of the other belligerent.... The confiscation of the noxious article, which constitutes the penalty for contraband... would be ridiculous when applied to *dispatches*. There would be no freight dependent on their transportation and therefore this penalty could not, in the nature of things, be applied. The vehicle, in which they are carried, must, therefore, be *confiscated*.'

Walker, in his *Introduction to American Law*,⁶³ says:

"...neutrals may not be concerned in bearing *hostile dispatches*, under the penalty of confiscation of the vehicle, and of the cargo also."

Kent, who is accounted a decisive authority in British courts, states in his *Commentaries*⁶⁴:

"If, on search of a ship, it is found that she carries *enemy dispatches*, she incurs the penalty of capture and of confiscation by judgment of a prize court."

Dr. Robert Phillimore, Advocate of Her Majesty in Her Office of Admiralty, says in his latest work on international law,⁶⁵ p. 370:

"Official communications from an official person on the public affairs of a belligerent Government are such *dispatches* as impress an hostile character upon the carriers of them. The mischievous consequences of such a service cannot be estimated, and extend far beyond the effect of any Contraband that can be conveyed, for it is manifest that by the carriage of such dispatches the most important operations of a Belligerent may be forwarded or obstructed.... The penalty is confiscation of the ship which conveys the dispatches and... of the cargo, if both belong to the same master."

Two points are therefore established. Queen Victoria's proclamation of May 13, 1861, subjects English ships that carry dispatches of the Confederacy to the penalties of international law. International law, according to its English and American commentators, imposes the penalty of capture and confiscation on such ships.

Palmerston's organs consequently lied on orders from above—and we were naïve enough to believe their lie—in affirming that the captain of the *San Jacinto* had neglected to seek for *dispatches* on the *Trent* and therefore had of course found none; and that the *Trent* had consequently become shotproof through this oversight. The American journals of November 17 to 20, which could not yet have been aware of the English lie, unanimously state, on the contrary, that the dispatches had been seized and were already in print for submission to Congress in Washington. This changes the whole state of affairs. Because of these dispatches, the *San Jacinto* had the right to take the *Trent* in tow and every American prize court had the duty to confiscate her and her

cargo. With the *Trent*, her passengers also naturally came within the pale of American jurisdiction.

Messrs. Mason, Slidell and Co., as soon as the *Trent* had touched at Monroe, came under American jurisdiction as rebels. If, therefore, instead of towing the *Trent* herself to an American port, the captain of the *San Jacinto* contented himself with seizing the dispatches and their bearers, he in no way worsened the position of Mason, Slidell and Co., whilst, on the other hand, his *error in procedure* benefited the *Trent*, her cargo and her passengers. And it would be indeed unprecedented if Britain wished to declare war on the United States because Captain Wilkes committed an error in procedure harmful to the United States, but profitable to Britain.

The question whether Mason, Slidell and Co., were themselves contraband, was only raised and could only be raised because the Palmerston journals had broadcast the lie that Captain Wilkes had neither searched for dispatches, nor seized dispatches. For in this case Mason, Slidell and Co. in fact constituted the sole objects on the ship *Trent* that could possibly fall under the category of contraband. Let us, however, disregard this aspect for the moment. Queen Victoria's proclamation designates "officers" of a belligerent party as contraband. Are "officers" merely military officers? Were Mason, Slidell and Co. "officers" of the Confederacy? "Officers," says Samuel Johnson in his dictionary of the English language,⁶⁶ are "men employed by the public", that is, in German: *Öffentliche Beamte*. Walker gives the same definition. (See his dictionary, 1861 edition.)⁶⁷

According to the usage of the English language, therefore, Mason, Slidell and Co., these emissaries, *id est*, officials of the Confederacy, come under the category of "officers", whom the royal proclamation declares to be contraband. The captain of the *Trent* knew them in this capacity and therefore rendered himself, his ship and his passengers confiscable. If, according to Phillimore and all other authorities, a ship becomes confiscable as the carrier of an enemy dispatch because it violates neutrality, in a still higher degree is this true of the person who carries the dispatches. According to Wheaton, even an enemy *ambassador*, so long as he is *in transitu*, may be intercepted. In general, however, the basis of all international law is that any member of the belligerent party may be regarded and treated as "belligerent" by the opposing party.

"So long as a man," says Vattel, "continues to be a citizen of his own country, he is the enemy of all those with whom his nation is at war."⁶⁸

One sees, therefore, that the law officers of the English Crown reduced the point of contention to a mere *error in procedure*, not an

error *in re*,* but an error *in forma*,** because, actually, no *material violation of law* is to hand. The Palmerston organs chatter about the material legal question again because a mere error in procedure, *in the interest of the Trent* at that, gives no plausible pretext for a haughty-toned ultimatum.

Meanwhile, important voices have been raised in this sense from diametrically opposite sides: on the one side, Messrs. *Bright* and *Cobden*; on the other, *David Urquhart*. These men are enemies on grounds of principle and personally: the first two, peaceable cosmopolitans; the third, the "last of the Englishmen"⁶⁹, the former always ready to sacrifice all international law to international trade; the other hesitating not a moment: "*Fiat Justitia, pereat mundus*",*** and by "justice" he understands "English" justice. The voices of *Bright* and *Cobden* are important, because they represent a powerful section of middle-class interests and are represented in the ministry by Gladstone, Milner Gibson and also, more or less, by Sir Cornwall Lewis. The voice of *Urquhart* is important because international law is his life-study and everyone recognises him as an *incorruptible* interpreter of this international law.

The usual newspaper sources will communicate *Bright's* speech in support of the United States and *Cobden's* letter, which is conceived in the same sense. Therefore I will not dwell on them.

Urquhart's organ, *The Free Press*, states in its latest issue, published on December 4:

" 'We must bombard New York!' Such were the frantic sounds which met the ears of everyone who traversed the streets of London on the evening of this day week, on the arrival of the intelligence of a trifling warlike incident. The act was one which England *has committed as a matter of course* [in every war] –namely the seizure on board of a neutral of the persons and property of her enemies."

The Free Press further argues that, in 1856 at the Congress of Paris, Palmerston, without any authority from the Crown or Parliament sacrificed English maritime law in *the interest of Russia*, and then says:

"In order to justify this sacrifice, Palmerston's organs stated at that time that if we *maintained the right of search*, we should assuredly be *involved in a war with the United States* on the occasion of the first war in Europe. And now he calls on us through the same organs of public opinion to bombard New York because the United States act on those laws which are theirs no less than our own."

With regard to the utterances of the "organs of public opinion", *The Free Press* remarks:

* In substance.—*Ed.*

** In form.—*Ed.*

*** Let justice be done, though the world perish.—*Ed.*

"The bray of Baron Munchausen's thawing posthorn was nothing to the clangour of the British press on the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell."⁷⁰

Then humorously, it places side by side, in "strophe" and "anti-strophe", the contradictions by which the English press seeks to convict the United States of a "breach of law".

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PROGRESS OF FEELINGS IN ENGLAND

London, Dec. 7, 1861

The friends of the United States on this side of the Atlantic anxiously hope that conciliatory steps will be taken by the Federal Government. They do so not from a concurrence in the frantic crowing of the British press over a war incident, which, according to the English Crown lawyers themselves, resolves itself into a mere error of procedure, and may be summed up in the words that there has been a breach of international law, because Capt. Wilkes, instead of taking the *Trent*, her cargo, her passengers, and the Commissioners, did only take the Commissioners. Nor springs the anxiety of the well-wishers of the Great Republic from an apprehension lest, in the long run, it should not prove able to cope with England, although backed by the civil war; and, least of all, do they expect the United States to abdicate, even for a moment, and in a dark hour of trial, the proud position held by them in the council of nations. The motives that prompt them are of quite a different nature.

In the first instance, the business next in hand for the United States is to crush the rebellion and to restore the Union. The wish uppermost in the minds of the Slaveocracy and their Northern tools was always to plunge the United States into a war with England. The first step of England as soon as hostilities broke out would be to recognise the Southern Confederacy, and the second to terminate the blockade. Secondly, no general, if not forced, will accept battle at the time and under the conditions chosen by his enemy.

"A war with America," says *The Economist*, a paper deeply in Palmerston's confidence, "must always be one of the most lamentable incidents in the history of England; but if it is to happen, the present is certainly the period at which it will do us the minimum of harm, and the only moment in our joint annals at which it would confer on us an incidental and partial compensation."

The very reasons accounting for the eagerness of England to seize upon any decent pretext for war at this "only moment" ought to withhold the United States from forwarding such a pretext at this "only moment." You go not to war with the aim to do your enemy "the minimum of harm," and, even to confer upon him by the war, "an incidental and partial compensation." The opportunity of the moment would all be on one side, on the side of your foe. Is there any great strain of reasoning wanted to prove that an internal war raging in a

State is the least opportune time for entering upon a foreign war? At every other moment the mercantile classes of Great Britain would have looked upon a war against the United States with the utmost horror. Now, on the contrary, a large and influential party of the mercantile community has for months been urging on the Government to violently break the blockade, and thus provide the main branch of British industry with its raw material. The fear of a curtailment of the English export trade to the United States has lost its sting by the curtailment of that trade having already actually occurred. "They" (the Northern States), says *The Economist*, "are wretched customers, instead of good ones." The vast credit usually given by English commerce to the United States, principally by the acceptance of bills drawn from China and India, has been already reduced to scarcely a fifth of what it was in 1857. Last, not least, Decembrist France, bankrupt, paralyzed at home, beset with difficulty abroad, pounces upon an Anglo-American war as a real godsend, and, in order to buy English support in Europe, will strain all her power to support "Perfidious Albion" on the other side of the Atlantic. Read only the French newspapers. The pitch of indignation to which they have wrought themselves in their tender care for the "honor of England," their fierce diatribes as to the necessity on the part of England to revenge the outrage on the Union Jack, their vile denunciations of everything American, would be truly appalling, if they were not ridiculous and disgusting at the same time. Lastly, if the United States give way in this instance, they will not derogate one iota of their dignity. England has reduced her complaint to a mere *error of procedure, a technical blunder* of which she had made herself systematically guilty in all her maritime wars, but against which the United States have never ceased to protest, and which President Madison, in his message inaugurating the war of 1812, expatiated upon as one of the most shocking breaches of international law.⁷⁰ If the United States may be defended in paying England with her own coin, will they be accused for magnanimously disavowing, on the part of a single American captain, acting on his own responsibility, what they always denounced as a systematic usurpation on the part of the British Navy! In point of fact, the gain of such a procedure would be all on the American side. England, on the one hand, would have acknowledged the right of the United States to capture and bring to adjudication before an American prize court every English ship employed in the service of the Confederation. On the other hand, she would, once for all, before the eyes of the whole world, have practically resigned a claim which she was not brought to desist from either in the peace of Ghent, in 1814, or the transactions carried on between Lord Ashburton and Secretary Webster in 1842.⁷¹ The question then comes to this: Do you prefer to turn the "untoward event" to your own account, or, blinded

by the passions of the moment, turn it to the account of your foes at home and abroad?

Since this day week, when I sent you my last letter, British consols have again lowered, the decline, compared with last Friday, amounting to 2 per cent, the present prices being 89 3/4 to 7/8 for money and 90 to 1/8 for the new account on the 9th of January. This quotation corresponds to the quotation of the British consols during the first two years of the Anglo-Russian war.* This decline is altogether due to the warlike interpretation put upon the American papers conveyed by the last mail, to the exacerbating tone of the London press, whose moderation of two days' standing was but a feint, ordered by Palmerston, to the dispatch of troops for Canada, to the proclamation forbidding the export of arms and materials for gunpowder, and lastly, to the daily ostentatious statements concerning the formidable preparations for war in the docks and maritime arsenals.

Of one thing you may be sure, Palmerston wants a legal pretext for a war with the United States, but meets in the Cabinet councils with a most determinate opposition on the part of Messrs. Gladstone and Milner Gibson, and, to a less degree, of Sir Cornewall Lewis. "The noble viscount" is backed by Russell, an abject tool in his hands, and the whole Whig Coterie. If the Washington Cabinet should furnish the desired pretext, the present Cabinet will be sprung, to be supplanted by a Tory Administration. The preliminary steps for such a change of scenery have been already settled between Palmerston and Disraeli. Hence the furious war-cry of *The Morning Herald* and *The Standard*, those hungry wolves howling at the prospect of the long-missed crumbs from the public almoner.

Palmerston's designs may be shown up by calling into memory a few facts. It was he who insisted upon the proclamation, acknowledging the Secessionists as belligerents, on the morning of the 14th of May, after he had been informed by telegraph from Liverpool that Mr. Adams would arrive at London on the night of the 13th May. He, after a severe struggle with his colleagues, dispatched 3,000 men to Canada, an army ridiculous, if intended to cover a frontier of 1,500 miles, but a clever sleight-of-hand if the rebellion was to be cheered, and the Union to be irritated. He, many weeks ago, urged Bonaparte to propose a joint armed intervention "in the internecine struggle," supported that project in the Cabinet council, and failed only in carrying it by the resistance of his colleagues. He and Bonaparte then resorted to the Mexican intervention as a *pis aller*. That operation served two purposes, by provoking just resentment on the part of the Americans, and by simultaneously furnishing a pretext for the dispatch of a squadron, ready, as *The*

* The Crimean War (1853-56).—Ed.

Morning Post has it, "to perform whatever duty the hostile conduct of the Government of Washington may require us to perform in the waters of the Northern Atlantic." At the time when that expedition was started, *The Morning Post*, together with *The Times* and the smaller fry of Palmerston's press slaves, said that it was a very fine thing, and a philanthropic thing into the bargain, because it would expose the slaveholding Confederation to two fires—the Anti-Slavery North and the Anti-Slavery force of England and France. And what says the very same *Morning Post*, this curious compound of Jenkins and Rhodomonte,⁷² of plush and swash, in its to-day's issue, on occasion of Jefferson Davis's address? Hearken to the Palmerston oracle:

"We must look to this intervention as one that may be inoperative during a considerable period of time; and while the Northern Government is too distant to admit of its attitude entering materially into this question, the Southern Confederation, on the other hand, stretches for a great distance along the frontier of Mexico, so as to render its friendly disposition to the authors of the insurrection of no slight consequence. The Northern Government has invariably railed at our neutrality, but the Southern with statesmanship and moderation has recognized in it all that we could do for either party; and whether with a view to our transactions in Mexico, or to our relations with the Cabinet at Washington, the friendly forbearance of the Southern Confederacy is an important point in our favor."

I may remark that the *Nord* of December 3—a Russian paper, and consequently a paper initiated into Palmerston's designs—insinuates that the Mexican expedition was from the first set on foot, not for its ostensible purpose, but for a war against the United States.

Gen. Scott's letter⁷³ had produced such a beneficent reaction in public opinion, and even on the London Stock Exchange, that the conspirators of Downing Street and the Tuilleries found it necessary to let loose the *Patrie*, stating with all the airs of knowledge derived from official sources that the seizure of the Southern Commissioners from the *Trent* was directly authorized by the Washington Cabinet.

Published in the *New-York Daily Tribune* No. 6467, December 25, 1861

Reproduced from the newspaper

THE CRISIS OVER THE SLAVERY ISSUE

London, December 10, 1861

The United States has evidently entered a critical stage with regard to the *slavery question*, the question underlying the whole Civil War. General Frémont has been dismissed for declaring the slaves of *rebels* free.* A directive to General Sherman, the commander of the expedition to South Carolina, was a little later published by the Washington Government, which goes further than Frémont, for it decrees that fugitive slaves even of *loyal* slave-owners should be welcomed and employed as workers and paid a wage, and under certain circumstances armed, and consoles the "loyal" owners with the prospect of receiving compensation later. Colonel Cochrane has gone even further than Frémont, he demands the arming of all slaves as a military measure. The Secretary of War Cameron publicly approves of Cochrane's "views". The Secretary of the Interior, on behalf of the government, then repudiates the Secretary of War. The Secretary of War expresses his "views" even more emphatically at a public meeting stating that he will vindicate these views in his report to Congress. General Halleck, Frémont's successor in Missouri, and General Dix in east Virginia have driven fugitive Negroes from their military camps and forbidden them to appear in future in the vicinity of the positions held by their armies. General Wool at the same time has received the black "contraband"⁷⁴ with open arms at Fort Monroe. The old leaders of the *Democratic* Party, Senator Dickinson and Croswell (a former member of the so-called Democratic regency⁷⁵), have published an open letter in which they express their agreement with Cochrane and Cameron, and Colonel Jennison in Kansas has surpassed all his military predecessors by an address to his troops which contains the following passage:

No temporising with rebels and those sympathising with them. I have told General Frémont that I would not have drawn my sword had I thought that slavery would outlast this struggle. The slaves of rebels will always find protection in this camp and we will defend them to the last man and the last bullet. I want no men who are *not Abolitionists*, I have no use for them and I hope that there are no such people among us, for everyone knows that slavery is the basis, the centre and the vertex of this infernal war. Should the government disapprove of my action it can take back my patent, but in that case I shall act on my own hook even if in the beginning I can only count on six men.

The slavery question is being solved in practice in the border slave states even now, especially in *Missouri* and to a lesser extent in Kentucky, etc. A large-scale dispersal of slaves is taking place. For instance 50,000 slaves have disappeared from Missouri, some of them have run away, others have been transported by the slave-owners to the more distant southern states.

It is rather strange that a most important and significant event is not mentioned in any English newspaper. On November 18, delegates from 45 North Carolina counties met on Hatteras Island, appointed a provisional government, revoked the Ordinance of Secession and proclaimed that North Carolina was returning to the Union. The counties of North Carolina represented at this convention have been called together to elect their Representatives to Congress at Washington.

Published in *Die Presse* No. 343,
December 14, 1861

* See pp. 101-02 of this book.—Ed.

NEWS FROM AMERICA

London, December 13

The news of the *Harvey Birch*'s fate and the presence of the cruiser *Nashville* in Southampton harbour⁷⁶ reached New York on November 29, but does not seem to have caused the sensational effect on which certain circles here counted just as much as others, the anti-war groups, feared it. On this occasion the force of one shock wave was broken by that of another. For New York was just in the throes of an election campaign, since voting for a new mayor was to take place on December 3. Mr. Russell, the envoy of *The Times* in Washington, who ruins his Celtic talent by affected Englishness, pretends supercilious surprise at this pre-election commotion. Mr. Russell of course plays up to the illusions of the London cockney, who imagines that the election of a New York mayor is just as much a display of antiquated tomfoolery as is the election of a Lord Mayor in London. It is well known that the Lord Mayor of London is not concerned at all with the greater part of London. He is nominally the regent of the City, a mythological phenomenon which attempts to prove that it really exists by producing good turtle soup at banquets and bad judgments in cases of infringement of police regulations. Only in the fancy of Parisian writers of vaudevilles and of news items for the press does the Lord Mayor of London still remain an important political personage. The Mayor of New York on the other hand is a real power. At the beginning of the secession movement, the notorious *Fernando Wood*, the previous Mayor, was about to declare New York an independent city republic,⁷⁷ of course in agreement with Jefferson Davis. His plan was thwarted by the energy of the Republican Party of the Empire City.*

Charles Sumner from Massachusetts, a member of the Senate—where he was attacked by a cane-wielding Senator from the South at the time of the Kansas affair⁷⁸—made a brilliant speech on the origin and hidden motives of the slave-owners' rebellion at a well-attended meeting in the Cooper Institute of New York on November 27. After his address the meeting passed the following resolution:

The doctrine of the emancipation of the slaves of rebels advanced by General Frémont, as well as pronouncements subsequently made by General Burnside, Senator Wilson, George Bancroft (the famous historian), Colonel Cochrane and

Simon Cameron, which point to the anticipated eradication of slavery as the cause of the rebellion, express a moral, political and military necessity. This meeting considers that public opinion in the North is now definitely prepared to support any practical plan for the eradication of slavery—this national misfortune—that might be proposed, and it regards such a result as the only consistent conclusion of this fight between civilisation and barbarism.

The *New-York Tribune* makes the following remark about Sumner's speech:

"The allusion of Mr. Sumner to the coming discussions of Congress on this subject" (slavery), "will kindle a hope that that body will understand where Southern weakness and Northern strength really lie, and will seize the instrumentality by which the rebellion is to be brought to a speedy and final extirpation."

A personal letter from *Mexico* contains inter alia the following passage:

"The British ambassador plays the part of an enthusiastic friend of President Juárez's Administration.... People well versed in Spanish intrigues assert that General Marquez has been instructed by Spain to rally the scattered forces, both the Mexican and the Spanish elements, of the Church party. This party is then supposed to use an opportunity, which is expected to present itself soon, to beg Her Catholic Majesty* to provide a king for the throne of Mexico. An uncle of the Queen is said to have been chosen for this office. Since the man is old he would in the natural course of events soon quit the scene, and as any clause designating a successor was to be avoided, Mexico would revert to Spain. Thus the same policy would carry the day in Mexico as in Haiti."

Published in *Die Presse* No. 346,
December 17, 1861

* New York.—Ed.

* Isabella II.—Ed.

***) From THE WASHINGTON CABINET
AND THE WESTERN POWERS**

As is known, the United States was the only great power that refused to accede to the Paris Declaration of 1856.⁷⁹ If it renounced privateering, then it would have to create a great state navy. Any weakening of its means of war at sea simultaneously threatened it on land with the incubus of a standing army on a European scale. Nevertheless President Buchanan stated that he was ready to accept the Paris Declaration, provided that the same inviolability would be assured to all property, enemy or neutral, found on ships, with the exception of contraband of war. His proposal was rejected. From Seward's blue book it now appears that Lincoln, immediately after his assumption of office, offered Britain and France the adhesion of the United States to the Paris Declaration, so far as it abolishes privateering, on condition that the prohibition of privateering should be extended to the parts of the United States in revolt, that is, the Southern Confederacy. The answer that he received amounted in practice to recognition of the belligerent rights of the Southern Confederacy.⁸⁰

"Humanity, progress and civilisation" whispered to the Cabinets of St. James and the Tuilleries that the prohibition of privateering would exceedingly reduce the chances of secession and consequently of dissolution of the United States. The Confederacy was therefore recognised in all haste as a belligerent party, in order afterwards to reply to the Washington Cabinet that Britain and France could naturally not recognise the proposal of the belligerent party as a binding law for the other belligerent party. The same "noble uprightness" inspired all the diplomatic negotiations of Britain and France with the Union government after the outbreak of the Civil War, and had the *San Jacinto* not held up the *Trent* in the Bahama straits, any other incident would have sufficed to provide a pretext for the conflict that Lord Palmerston aimed at.

Written about December 20, 1861

Published in *Die Presse* No. 354,
December 25, 1861

***) AMERICAN AFFAIRS**

President Lincoln never ventures a step forward before the tide of circumstances and the general call of public opinion forbid further delay. But once "Old Abe" realises that such a turning point has been reached, he surprises friend and foe alike by a sudden operation executed as noiselessly as possible. Thus, in the most unassuming manner, he quite recently carried out a coup that half a year earlier would possibly have cost him his presidential office and only a few months ago would have called forth a storm of debate. We mean the *removal of McClellan* from his post of Commander-in-Chief of all the Union armies. Lincoln first of all replaced the Secretary of War, Cameron, by an energetic and ruthless lawyer, Mr. *Edwin Stanton*. An order of the day was then issued by Stanton to generals Buell, Halleck, Butler, Sherman and other commanders of whole areas or leaders of expeditions, notifying them that in future they would receive all orders, open and secret, from the War Department direct and, on the other hand, would have to report directly to the War Department. Finally, Lincoln issued some orders which he signed as "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy", an attribute to which he was constitutionally entitled. In this "quiet" manner "the young Napoleon"⁸¹ was deprived of the supreme command he had hitherto held over *all* the armies and restricted to the command of the army on the Potomac, although the *title* of "Commander-in-Chief" was left to him. The successes in Kentucky, Tennessee and on the Atlantic coast propitiously inaugurated the assumption of the supreme command by President Lincoln.

The post of Commander-in-Chief hitherto occupied by *McClellan* was bequeathed to the United States by Britain and corresponds roughly to the dignity of a Grand Connétable in the old French army. During the Crimean War⁸² even Britain discovered the inexpediency of this old-fashioned institution. A compromise was accordingly effected by which part of the attributes hitherto belonging to the Commander-in-Chief were transferred to the War Department.

The requisite material for an estimate of *McClellan's* Fabian tactics⁸³ on the Potomac is still lacking. That his influence, however, acted as a brake on the general conduct of the war, is beyond doubt. One can say of *McClellan* what Macaulay says of Essex:

"The military mistakes of Essex sprang for the most part from political compunction. He was honestly, but by no means warmly attached to the cause of Parliament, and next to a great defeat he feared nothing so much as a great victory."⁸⁴

McClellan and most of the officers of the regular army who got their training at West Point⁸⁵ are more or less bound by *esprit de corps* to their old comrades in the enemy camp. They are inspired by the same jealousy of the *parvenus* among the "civilian soldiers". In their view, the war must be waged in a strictly business-like fashion, with constant regard to the restoration of the Union on its *old* basis, and therefore must above all be kept free from revolutionary tendencies and tendencies affecting matters of principle. A fine conception of a war which is essentially a war of principles. The first generals of the English Parliament fell into the same error.

"But," said Cromwell in his speech to the Rump on July 4, 1653, "how changed everything was as soon as men took the lead who professed a principle of godliness and religion!"⁸⁶

The Washington *Star*, McClellan's special organ, declares in one of its latest issues:

"The aim of all General McClellan's military combinations is to restore the Union *completely*, exactly as it existed before the outbreak of the rebellion."

No wonder, therefore, that on the Potomac, under the eyes of the general-in-chief, the army was trained to catch slaves! Only recently, by a special order, McClellan expelled the Kutchinson family of musicians from the camp because they—sang anti-slavery songs.

Apart from such "anti-tendency" demonstrations, McClellan covered the traitors in the Union army with his saving shield. Thus, for example, he promoted Maynard to a higher post, although Maynard, as the papers made public by the committee of inquiry of the House of Representatives prove, was active as an agent of the secessionists. From General Patterson, whose treachery determined the defeat at Manassas, to General Stone, who brought about the defeat at Ball's Bluff in direct agreement with the enemy, McClellan managed to save every military traitor from court martial, and in most cases even from dismissal. The Congress committee of inquiry has revealed the most surprising facts in this respect. Lincoln resolved to prove by an energetic step that with his assumption of the supreme command the hour of the traitors in epaulets had struck and a *turning point* in the war policy had been reached. By his order, General Stone was arrested in his bed at two o'clock in the morning of February 10 and taken to Fort Lafayette. A few hours later, the order for his arrest, signed by Stanton, appeared; in this the charge of high treason was formulated, to be judged by court martial. Stone's arrest and putting on trial took place without any

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As long as he himself remained in a state of inaction and merely wore his laurels in advance, McClellan was obviously determined to allow no other general to forestall him. Generals Halleck and Pope had resolved on a combined movement to force General Price, who had already been saved once from Frémont by the intervention of Washington, to a decisive battle. A telegram from McClellan forbade them to deliver the blow. General Halleck was "ordered back" by a similar telegram from the capture of Fort Columbus, at a time when this fort stood half under water. McClellan had expressly forbidden the generals in the West to correspond with one another. Each of them was obliged first to apply to Washington whenever a combined movement was intended. President Lincoln has now restored to them the necessary freedom of action.

How advantageous to secession McClellan's general military policy was is best proved by the panegyrics that the *New York Herald* continually lavishes upon him. He is a hero after the *Herald*'s own heart. The notorious *Bennett*, proprietor and editor-in-chief of the *Herald*, had formerly held the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan in his power through his "special representatives", alias correspondents, in Washington. Under Lincoln's Administration he sought to win the same power again in a roundabout way, by having his "special representative," Dr. *Ives*, a man of the South and brother of an officer who had deserted to the Confederacy, worm himself into McClellan's favour. Under McClellan's patronage, great liberties must have been allowed this *Ives* at the time when Cameron was at the head of the War Department. He evidently expected Stanton to guarantee him the same privileges and accordingly presented himself on February 8 at the War Office, where the Secretary of War, his chief secretary and some members of Congress were discussing war measures. He was shown the door. He got up on his hind legs and finally beat a retreat, threatening that the *Herald* would open fire on the present War Department in the event of its withholding from him his "special privilege" of having, in particular, Cabinet deliberations, telegrams, public communications and war news confided to him in the War Department. Next morning, February 9, Dr. *Ives* had assembled the whole of McClellan's General Staff at a champagne breakfast with him. Misfortune, however, moves fast. A non-commissioned officer entered with six men, seized the mighty *Ives* and took him to Fort MacHenry, where, as the order of the Secretary of War expressly states, he "is to be kept under strict watch as a spy".

Written about February 26, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 61,

March 3, 1862

KARL MARX

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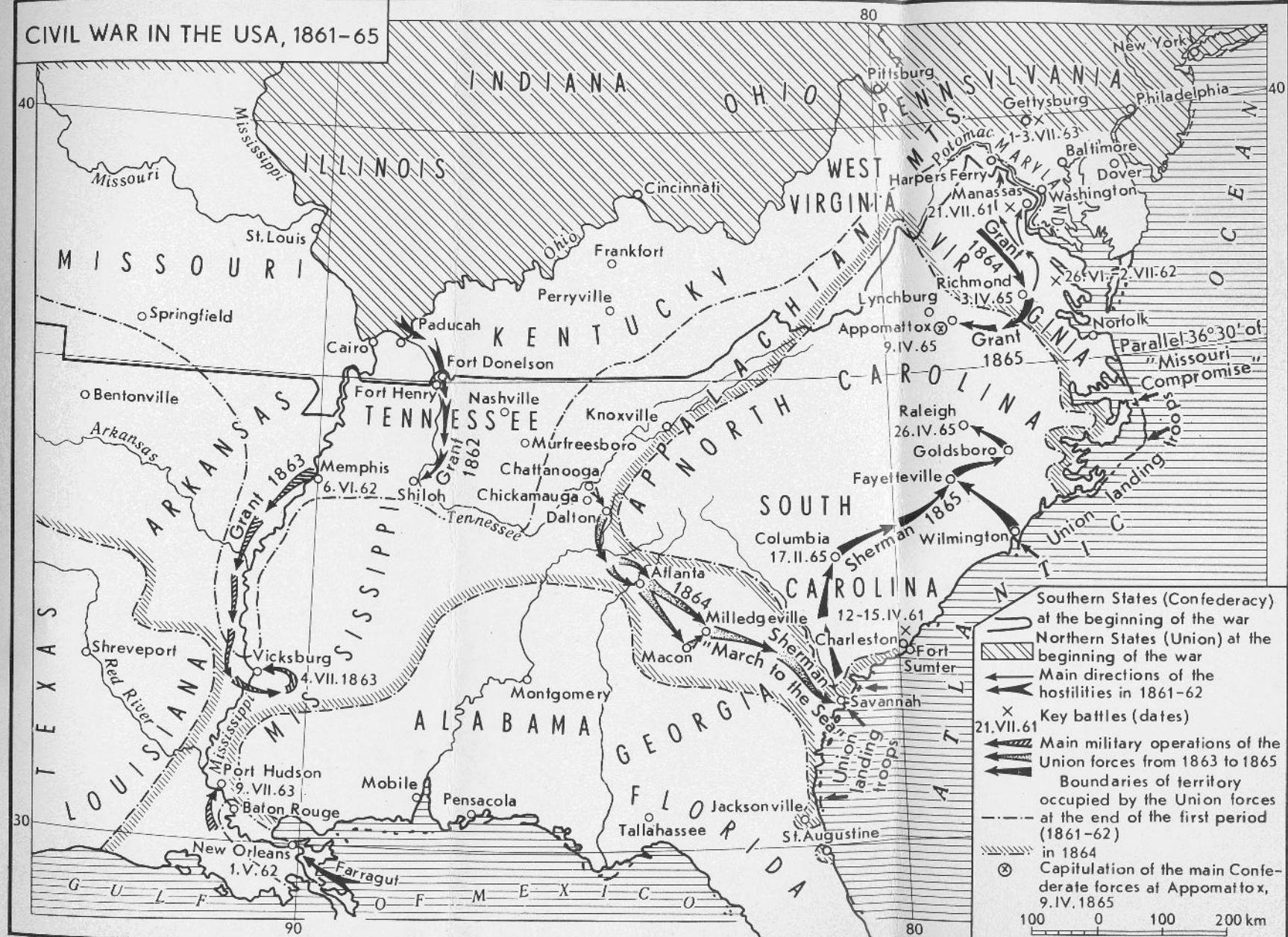
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CIVIL WAR IN THE USA, 1861-65



Civil War in the USA, 1861-65 (map)

*)THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

From whatever standpoint one regards it, the American Civil War presents a spectacle without parallel in the annals of military history. The vast extent of the disputed territory; the far-flung front of the lines of operation; the numerical strength of the hostile armies, the creation of which drew barely any support from a prior organisational basis; the fabulous costs of these armies; the manner of leading them and the general tactical and strategical principles in accordance with which the war is waged, are all new in the eyes of the European onlooker.

The secessionist conspiracy, organised, patronised and supported long before its outbreak by Buchanan's administration, gave the South a head-start, by which alone it could hope to achieve its aim. Endangered by its slave population and by a strong Unionist element among the whites themselves, with a number of free men two-thirds smaller than in the North, but readier to attack, thanks to the multitude of adventurous idlers that it harbours—for the South everything depended on a swift, bold, almost foolhardy offensive. If the Southerners succeeded in taking St. Louis, Cincinnati, Washington, Baltimore and perhaps Philadelphia, they might then count on a panic, during which diplomacy and bribery could secure recognition of the independence of all the slave states. If this first onslaught failed, at least at the decisive points, their position must then become daily worse, simultaneously with the development of the strength of the North. This point was rightly understood by the men who in truly Bonapartist spirit had organised the secessionist conspiracy. They opened the campaign in corresponding manner. Their bands of adventurers overran Missouri and Tennessee, while their more regular troops invaded east Virginia and prepared a *coup de main* against Washington. With the miscarriage of this coup, the Southern campaign was, *from the military standpoint*, lost.

The North came to the theatre of war reluctantly, sleepily, as was to be expected considering its higher industrial and commercial development. The social machinery was here far more complicated than in the South, and it required far more time to give its motion this unwonted direction. The enlistment of volunteers for three months was a great, but perhaps unavoidable mistake. It was the policy of the North to remain on the defensive in the beginning at all decisive points, to

organise its forces, to train them through operations on a small scale and without the risk of decisive battles, and as soon as the organisation was sufficiently strengthened and the traitorous element simultaneously more or less removed from the army, to pass finally to an energetic, unflagging offensive and, above all, to reconquer Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina. The transformation of civilians into soldiers was bound to take more time in the North than in the South. Once effected, one could count on the individual superiority of the Northern man.

By and large, and allowing for mistakes which sprang more from political than from military sources, the North acted in accordance with those principles. The guerrilla warfare in Missouri and West Virginia, while it protected the Unionist population, accustomed the troops to field service and to fire, without exposing them to decisive defeats. The great disgrace of Bull Run⁸⁷ was to some extent the result of the earlier error of enlisting volunteers for three months. It was senseless to allow a strong position, on difficult terrain and in possession of a foe little inferior in numbers, to be attacked by raw recruits from the front. The panic which took possession of the Union army at the decisive moment, and the cause of which has still not been clarified, could surprise no one who was in any degree familiar with the history of peoples' wars. Such things happened to the French troops very often from 1792 to 1795; this did not, however, prevent these same troops from winning the battles of Jemappes and Fleurus, Montenotte, Castiglione and Rivoli.⁸⁸ The jests of the European press over the Bull Run panic had only one excuse for their silliness—the previous bragging of a section of the North American press.

The six months' respite that followed the defeat at Manassas was utilised by the North better than by the South. Not only were the Northern ranks replenished in greater measure than the Southern. Their officers received better instructions; the discipline and training of the troops did not encounter the same obstacles as in the South. Traitors and incompetent interlopers were more and more removed, and the period of the Bull Run panic belongs to the past. The armies on both sides are naturally not to be measured by the standard of great European armies or even of the former regular army of the United States. Napoleon could in fact train battalions of raw recruits in the depots during the first month, have them on the march during the second and during the third lead them against the foe; but then every battalion received a sufficient reinforcement of experienced officers and non-commissioned officers, every company some old soldiers, and on the day of the battle the new troops were brigaded together with veterans and, so to speak, framed by the latter. All these conditions were lacking in America. Without the considerable mass of military

experience that had immigrated to America in consequence of the European revolutionary commotions of 1848-49, the organisation of the Union army would have required a much longer time still. The very small number of killed and wounded in proportion to the total of the troops engaged (usually one to twenty) proves that most of the engagements, even the latest in Kentucky and Tennessee, were fought mainly with firearms at fairly long range, and that the incidental bayonet charges either soon halted before the enemy's fire or put the foe to flight before it came to a hand-to-hand encounter. Meanwhile, the new campaign has been opened under more favourable auspices with the successful advance of Buell and Halleck through Kentucky and Tennessee.

After the reconquest of Missouri and West Virginia, the Union opened the campaign with the advance into Kentucky. Here the secessionists held three strong positions, fortified camps: Columbus on the Mississippi to their left, Bowling Green in the centre, and Mill Springs on the Cumberland River to the right. Their line stretched three hundred miles from west to east. The extent of this line denied the three corps the possibility of rendering each other mutual support and offered the Union troops the chance of attacking each individually with superior forces. The great mistake in the disposition of the secessionists sprang from the attempt to occupy all the ground. A single fortified, strong central camp, chosen as the battlefield for a decisive engagement and held by the main body of the army, would have defended Kentucky far more effectively. It was bound either to attract the main force of the Unionists or put them in a dangerous position had they attempted to march on disregarding so strong a concentration of troops.

Under the given circumstances the Unionists resolved to attack those three camps one after another, to manoeuvre their enemy out of them and force him to accept battle in open country. This plan, which conformed to all the rules of the art of war, was carried out with energy and dispatch. Towards the middle of January a corps of about 15,000 Unionists marched on Mill Springs, which was held by 20,000 secessionists. The Unionists manoeuvred in a manner that led the enemy to believe he had to deal only with a weak reconnoitring body. General Zollicoffer at once fell into the trap, sallied from his fortified camp and attacked the Unionists. He soon realised that a superior force confronted him. He fell and his troops suffered as complete a defeat as the Unionists at Bull Run. This time, however, the victory was exploited in quite another fashion. The stricken army was hard pressed until it arrived broken, demoralised, without field artillery or baggage, in its encampment at Mill Springs. This camp was pitched on the northern bank of the Cumberland River, so that in the event of another defeat

the troops had no retreat open to them save across the river by way of a few steamers and river boats. We find in general that almost all the secessionist camps were pitched on the *enemy* side of the river. To take up such a position is not only according to rule, but also very practical if there is a bridge in the rear. In such a case the encampment serves as the bridgehead and gives its holders the chance of throwing their fighting forces at will on both banks of the river and so maintaining complete command of these banks. Without a bridge in the rear, on the contrary, a camp on the enemy side of the river cuts off the retreat after an unsuccessful engagement and compels the troops to capitulate, or exposes them to massacre and drowning, a fate that befell the Unionists at Ball's Bluff on the enemy side of the Potomac, whither the treachery of General Stone had sent them.⁸⁹

When the beaten secessionists reached their camp at Mill Springs, they at once understood that an attack by the enemy on their fortifications must be repulsed or capitulation must follow in a very short time. After the experience of the morning they had lost confidence in their powers of resistance. Accordingly, when next day the Unionists advanced to attack the camp, they found that the foe had taken advantage of the night to cross the river, leaving the camp, the baggage, the artillery and stores behind him. In this way the extreme right of the secessionist line was pushed back to Tennessee, and east Kentucky, where the mass of the population is hostile to the slaveholders' party, was reconquered for the Union.

At the same time—towards the middle of January—the preparations for dislodging the secessionists from Columbus and Bowling Green commenced. A strong flotilla of mortar vessels and ironclad gunboats was held in readiness, and the news was spread in all directions that it was to serve as a convoy to a large army marching along the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis and New Orleans. All the demonstrations on the Mississippi, however, were merely mock manoeuvres. At the decisive moment the gunboats were brought to the Ohio and thence to the Tennessee, up which they sailed as far as Fort Henry. This place, together with Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River, formed the second line of defence of the secessionists in Tennessee. The position was well chosen, for in case of a retreat behind the Cumberland the latter river would have covered its front, the Tennessee its left flank, while the narrow strip of land between the two rivers was sufficiently covered by the two forts mentioned above. But the swift action of the Unionists broke through even the second line before the left wing and the centre of the first line had been attacked.

In the first week of February the gunboats of the Unionists appeared before Fort Henry, which surrendered after a short bombardment. The garrison escaped to Fort Donelson, since the land forces of the expedi-

tion were not strong enough to encircle the place. The gunboats now sailed down the Tennessee again, upstream to the Ohio and thence up the Cumberland as far as Fort Donelson. A single gunboat sailed boldly up the Tennessee through the very heart of the State of Tennessee, skirting the State of Mississippi and pushing on as far as Florence in north Alabama, where a series of swamps and banks (known by the name of the Mussel Shoals) forbade further navigation. This fact, that a single gunboat made this long voyage of at least 150 miles and then returned, without experiencing any attack, proves that Union sentiment prevails along the river and will be very useful to the Union troops should they push forward so far.

The boat expedition on the Cumberland now combined its movements with those of the land forces under generals Halleck and Grant. The secessionists at Bowling Green were deceived over the movements of the Unionists. They accordingly remained quietly in their camp, while a week after the fall of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson was surrounded on the land side by 40,000 Unionists and threatened on the river side by a strong flotilla of gunboats. Like the camp at Mill Springs and Fort Henry, Fort Donelson had the river lying in the rear, without a bridge for retreat. It was the strongest place the Unionists had attacked up to the present. The works were carried out with the greatest care; moreover the place was spacious enough to accommodate the 20,000 men who occupied it. On the first day of the attack the gunboats silenced the fire of the batteries trained towards the river side and bombarded the interior of the defence works, while the land troops drove back the enemy outposts and forced the main body of the secessionists to seek shelter close under the guns of their own defence works. On the second day the gunboats, which had suffered severely the day before, appear to have accomplished but little. The land troops, on the contrary, had to fight a long and, in places, hot encounter with the columns of the garrison, which sought to break through the right wing of the enemy in order to secure their line of retreat to Nashville. However, an energetic attack of the Unionist right wing on the left wing of the secessionists and considerable reinforcements received by the left wing of the Unionists decided the victory in favour of the assailants. Various outworks had been stormed. The garrison, pressed back into its inner lines of defence, without a chance of retreat and manifestly not in a position to withstand an assault next morning, surrendered unconditionally on the following day.

With Fort *Donelson* the enemy's artillery, baggage and military stores fell into the hands of the Unionists; 13,000 secessionists surrendered on the day of its capture; 1,000 more the next day, and as soon as the advance guard of the victors appeared before Clarksville, a town that lies further up the Cumberland River, it opened its gates. Here,

too, considerable supplies had been accumulated for the secessionists.

The capture of Fort Donelson presents only one riddle: the flight of General Floyd with 5,000 men on the second day of the bombardment. These fugitives were too numerous to be smuggled away in steamers during the night. With some measures of precaution on the part of the assailants, they could not have got away.

Seven days after the surrender of Fort Donelson, Nashville was occupied by the Federals. The distance between the two places is about 100 English miles, and a march of 15 miles a day, on very bad roads and in the most unfavourable season of the year, redounds to the honour of the Unionist troops. On receipt of the news that Fort Donelson had fallen, the secessionists evacuated Bowling Green; a week later they abandoned Columbus and withdrew to a Mississippi island, 45 miles south. Thus Kentucky was completely reconquered for the Union. Tennessee, however, can be held by the secessionists only if they offer and win a big battle. They are said in fact to have concentrated 65,000 men for this purpose. Meanwhile, nothing prevents the Unionists from bringing a superior force against them.

The leadership of the Kentucky campaign from Somerset to Nashville deserves the highest praise. The reconquest of so extensive a territory, the advance from the Ohio to the Cumberland in a single month, evidence an energy, resolution and speed such as have seldom been attained by regular armies in Europe. One may compare, for example, the slow advance of the Allies from Magenta to Solferino in 1859⁹⁰—without pursuit of the retreating foe, without endeavour to cut off his stragglers or in any way to envelop and encircle whole bodies of his troops.

Halleck and Grant, in particular, offer good examples of resolute military leadership. Without the least regard either for Columbus or Bowling Green, they concentrate their forces on the decisive points, Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, launch a swift and energetic attack on these and precisely thereby render Columbus and Bowling Green untenable. Then they march at once to Clarksville and Nashville, without allowing the retreating secessionists time to take up new positions in north Tennessee. During this rapid pursuit the corps of secessionist troops in Columbus remains completely cut off from the centre and right wing of its army. English papers have criticised this operation unjustly. Even if the attack on Fort Donelson had failed, the secessionists kept busy by General Buell at Bowling Green could not dispatch sufficient men to enable the garrison to follow the repulsed Unionists into the open country or to endanger their retreat. Columbus, on the other hand, lay so far off that it could not interfere with Grant's movements at all. In fact, after the Unionists had cleared Missouri of

the secessionists, Columbus was for the latter an entirely useless post. The troops that formed its garrison had greatly to hasten their retreat to Memphis or even to Arkansas in order to escape the danger of ingloriously laying down their arms.

In consequence of the clearing of Missouri and the reconquest of Kentucky the theatre of war has so far narrowed that the different armies can co-operate to a certain extent along the whole line of operations and work to achieve definite results. In other words, the war now assumes for the first time a *strategic* character, and the geographical configuration of the country acquires a new interest. It is now the task of the Northern generals to find the Achilles' heel of the cotton states.

Up to the capture of Nashville no concerted strategy between the army of Kentucky and the army on the Potomac was possible. They were too far apart from each other. They stood in the same front line, but their lines of operation were entirely different. Only with the victorious advance into Tennessee did the movements of the army of Kentucky become important for the entire theatre of war.

The American papers influenced by McClellan are going great guns with the "anaconda" envelopment theory. According to this, an immense line of armies is to wind round the rebellion, gradually tighten its coils and finally strangle the enemy. This is sheer childishness. It is a rehash of the so-called *cordon system*⁹¹ devised in Austria about 1770, which was employed against the French from 1792 to 1797 with such great obstinacy and with such constant failure. At Jemappes, Fleurus and, more especially, at Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego,⁹² Castiglione and Rivoli, the knock-out blow was dealt to this system. The French cut the "anaconda" in two by attacking at a point where they had concentrated superior forces. Then the coils of the "anaconda" were cut to pieces one after another.

In well-populated and more or less centralised states there is always a centre, with the occupation of which by the foe the national resistance would be broken. Paris is a shining example. The slave states, however, possess no such centre. They are thinly populated, with few large towns and all these on the seacoast. The question therefore arises: Does a military centre of gravity nevertheless exist, with the capture of which the backbone of their resistance breaks, or are they, as Russia still was in 1812, not to be conquered without occupying every village and every plot of land, in a word, the entire periphery?

Cast a glance at the geographical shape of the secessionists' territory, with its long stretch of coast on the Atlantic Ocean and its long stretch of coast on the Gulf of Mexico. So long as the Confederates held Kentucky and Tennessee, the whole formed a great compact mass. The loss of both these states drives an enormous wedge into their territory,

separating the states on the North Atlantic Ocean from the states on the Gulf of Mexico. The direct route from Virginia and the two Carolinas to Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi and even, in part, to Alabama leads through Tennessee, which is now occupied by the Unionists. The sole route that, after the complete conquest of Tennessee by the Union, connects the two sections of the slave states goes through Georgia. This proves that *Georgia is the key to the secessionists' territory*. With the loss of Georgia the Confederacy would be cut into two sections which would have lost all connection with one another. A reconquest of Georgia by the secessionists, however, would be almost unthinkable, for the Unionist fighting forces would be concentrated in a central position, while their adversaries, divided into two camps, would have scarcely sufficient forces to put in the field for a united attack.

Would the conquest of all Georgia, with the seacoast of Florida, be required for such an operation? By no means. In a land where communication, particularly between distant points, depends much more on railways than on highways, the seizure of the railways is sufficient. The southernmost railway line between the states on the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic coast goes through Macon and Gordon near Milledgeville.

The occupation of these two points would accordingly cut the secessionists' territory in two and enable the Unionists to beat one part after another. At the same time, one gathers from the above that no Southern republic is capable of living without the possession of Tennessee. Without Tennessee, Georgia's vital spot lies only eight or ten days' march from the frontier; the North would constantly have its hand at the throat of the South, and on the slightest pressure the South would have to yield or fight for its life anew, under circumstances in which a single defeat would cut off every prospect of success.

From the foregoing considerations it follows:

The Potomac is *not* the most important position of the war theatre. The taking of Richmond and the advance of the Potomac army further south—difficult on account of the many streams that cut across the line of march—could produce a tremendous moral effect. From a purely military standpoint, they would decide *nothing*.

The decision of the campaign belongs to the Kentucky army, now in Tennessee. On the one hand, this army is nearest the decisive points; on the other hand, it occupies a territory without which secession cannot survive. This army would accordingly have to be strengthened at the expense of all the rest and the sacrifice of all minor operations. Its next points of attack would be Chattanooga and Dalton on the Upper Tennessee, the most important railway centres of the entire South. After their occupation the link between the eastern and western states of *Secession* would be limited to the lines of communication in Georgia.

The further question would then arise of cutting off another railway line with Atlanta and Georgia, and finally of destroying the last link between the two sections by the capture of Macon and Gordon.⁹³

On the contrary, should the anaconda plan be followed, then despite all successes in particular cases and even on the Potomac, the war may be prolonged indefinitely, while the financial difficulties together with diplomatic complications acquire fresh scope.

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Kar l Marx

*) THE ENGLISH PRESS AND THE FALL OF NEW ORLEANS

London, May 16, 1862

On the arrival of the first rumours of the fall of New Orleans⁹⁴ *The Times*, *The Herald*, *The Standard*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Telegraph* and other English "sympathisers" with the Southern "nigger-drivers" proved strategically, tactically, philologically, exegetically, politically, morally and fortificationally that the rumour was one of the "canards" which Reuter, Havas, Wolff⁹⁵ and their understrappers so often let fly. The natural means of defence of New Orleans, it was said, had been augmented not only by newly constructed forts, but by submarine infernal machines of every sort and ironclad gunboats. Then there was the Spartan character of the New Orleanists and their deadly hate of Lincoln's mercenaries. Finally, was it not at New Orleans that England had suffered the defeat which brought her second war against the United States (1812 to 1814) to an ignominious end? Consequently there was no reason to doubt that New Orleans would immortalise itself as a second Saragossa or a Moscow of the "South".⁹⁶ Besides, it harboured 15,000 bales of cotton, with which it could so easily have kindled an inextinguishable fire for its own destruction, quite apart from the fact that in 1814 the duly damped cotton bales proved more indestructible by cannon fire than the earthworks of Sevastopol. It was therefore as clear as daylight that the fall of New Orleans was a case of the familiar Yankee bragging.

When the first rumours were confirmed two days later by steamers arriving from New York, the bulk of the English pro-slavery press persisted in its scepticism. *The Evening Standard*, especially, was so positive in its disbelief that in the same number it published a first leader which proved the crescent city's⁹⁷ impregnability in black and white, whilst its "latest news" announced in large type the impregnable city's fall. *The Times*, however, which has always held discretion for the better part of valour,* veered round. It still doubted, but at the same time it made ready for all eventualities, since New Orleans was a city of "rowdies" and not of heroes. On this occasion *The Times* was right. New Orleans is a settlement of the dregs of the French *bohème*, in the true sense of the word a French *convict colony*—and never, with the changes of time, has it belied its origin. Only, *The Times* came *post festum* to this

* Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act V, Scene 4.—Ed.

pretty widespread understanding.

Finally, however, the *fait accompli* struck even the blindest Thomas. What was to be done? The English pro-slavery press now proves that the fall of New Orleans is an advantage for the Confederates and a defeat for the Federals.

The fall of New Orleans allowed General Lovell to reinforce Beauregard's army with his troops; Beauregard was the more in need of reinforcements, since 160,000 men (surely an exaggeration!) were said to have been concentrated on his front by Halleck and, on the other hand, General Mitchel had cut Beauregard's communications with the East by breaking the railway connection of Memphis with Chattanooga, that is, with Richmond, Charleston and Savannah. After this cutting of his communications (which we indicated as a necessary strategical move long before the battle of Corinth*), Beauregard had no longer any railway connections from Corinth save those with Mobile and New Orleans. After New Orleans had fallen and he remained with only the single railway to Mobile to rely on, he naturally could no longer procure the necessary provisions for his troops, he therefore fell back on Tupelo and, in the estimation of the English pro-slavery press, his provisioning capacity is of course increased by the entry of Lovell's troops!

On the other hand, remark the same oracles, the yellow fever will take heavy toll of the Federals in New Orleans and, finally, if the city itself is no Moscow, is not its mayor a Brutus? Only read (cf. the *New York***) his melodramatically valorous epistle to Commodore Farragut. "Brave words, Sir, brave words!" *** But hard words break no bones.

The press organs of the Southern slaveholders, however, do not construe the fall of New Orleans so optimistically as their English comforters. This will be seen from the following extracts:

The Richmond Dispatch says:

What has become of the ironclad gunboats, the *Mississippi* and the *Louisiana*, from which we expected the salvation of the crescent city? In respect of their effect on the foe, these ships might just as well have been ships of glass. It is useless to deny that the fall of New Orleans is a heavy blow. The Confederate government is thereby cut off from west Louisiana, Texas, Missouri and Arkansas.

The Norfolk Day Book observes:

This is the most serious defeat since the beginning of the war. It augurs privations and want for all classes of society and, what is worse, it threatens the supplies for our army.

The Atlantic Intelligencer laments:

* See pp. 137-38 of this book.—Ed.

** *The New York Herald*.—Ed.

*** Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, Act III, Scene 3 (paraphrased).—Ed.

We expected a different result. The approach of the enemy was no surprise attack; it had been long foreseen, and we had been promised that should he even pass by Fort Jackson, fearful artillery contrivances would force him to withdraw or assure his annihilation. In all this we have deceived ourselves, as on every occasion when defences were supposed to guarantee the safety of a place or town. It appears that modern inventions have annihilated the defensive capacity of fortification. Ironclad gunboats destroy them or sail past them unceremoniously. Memphis, we fear, will share the fate of New Orleans. Would it not be folly to deceive ourselves with hope?

Finally, the *Petersburg Express*:

The capture of New Orleans by the Federals is the most extraordinary and most fateful event of the whole war.

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May 20, 1862

*) A TREATY AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE

London, May 18, 1862

The Treaty for the suppression of the slave trade concluded between the United States and Britain on April 7 of this year in Washington is now communicated *in extenso* by the American newspapers. The main points of this important document are the following: The right of search is reciprocal, but can be exercised only by such warships on either side as have for this purpose received special authority from one of the contracting powers. From time to time the contracting powers supply one another with complete statistics concerning the sections of their navies that have been appointed to keep watch on the traffic in Negroes. The right of search can be exercised only against merchantmen within a distance of 200 miles from the African coast and south of 32° north latitude, and within 30 nautical miles of the coast of Cuba. Search, whether of British ships by American cruisers or of American ships by British cruisers, does not take place in that part of the sea which is considered as British or American territory (therefore within three nautical miles of the coast); no more does it take place before the ports or settlements of foreign powers.

Mixed courts, composed half of Englishmen, half of Americans, and resident in Sierra Leone, Capetown and New York will pass judgment on the prize vessels. In the event of a ship's condemnation, her crew will be handed over to the jurisdiction of the nation under whose flag the ship sailed, so far as this can be done without extra cost. Not only the crew (including the captain, mate, etc.), but also the owners of the vessel will then incur the penalties customary to the country. Compensation of owners of merchantmen that have been acquitted by the mixed courts is to be paid within a year by the power under whose flag the capturing warship sailed. Not only the presence of captive Negroes is regarded as affording legal grounds for the seizure of ships, but also specially made arrangements in the construction of the ship for the traffic in Negroes, manacles, chains and other instruments for guarding the Negroes and, lastly, stores of provisions that bear no relation to the requirements of the ship's company. A ship on which such suspicious articles are found has to furnish proof of her innocence and even in the event of acquittal can claim no compensation.

Commanders of cruisers, who exceed the authority conferred on them by the Treaty, are to be subjected to punishment by their

respective governments. Should the commander of a cruiser of one of the contracting powers harbour a suspicion that a merchant vessel under escort by one or more warships of the other contracting power carries Negroes on board, or was engaged in the African slave trade, or is equipped for this trade, he has then to communicate his suspicion to the commander of the escort and, in company with him, search the suspected ship; the latter is to be conducted to the place of residence of one of the mixed courts if, according to the Treaty, it comes under the category of suspicious ships. The Negroes found on board condemned ships are placed at the disposal of the government under whose flag the capture was made. They are to be set at liberty at once and remain free under guarantee of the government in whose territory they find themselves. The Treaty can only be terminated after ten years. It remains in force for a full year from the date of the notice given by one of the contracting parties.

The slave trade has been dealt a mortal blow by this Anglo-American Treaty—the result of the American Civil War. The effect of the Treaty will be completed by the Bill recently introduced by Senator Sumner, which repeals the law of 1808 dealing with the traffic in Negroes on the coasts of the United States and punishes the transport of slaves from one port of the United States to another as a crime.⁹⁸ This Bill in large measure paralyses the trade that the states raising Negroes (border slave states) carry on with the states consuming Negroes (the slave states proper).

Published in *Die Presse* No. 140,
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*) THE SITUATION
IN THE AMERICAN THEATRE OF WAR

The capture of New Orleans, as the detailed reports now to hand show, is distinguished as an almost unparalleled act of valour on the part of the fleet. The fleet of the Unionists consisted merely of wooden ships; about six warships, each having from 14 to 25 guns, supported by a numerous flotilla of gunboats and mortar vessels. This fleet had before it two forts which blocked the passage of the Mississippi. Within range of the 100 guns of these forts the stream was barred by a strong chain, behind which was a mass of torpedoes, fire-floats and other instruments of destruction. These first obstacles had therefore to be overcome in order to pass between the forts. On the further side of the forts, however, was a second formidable line of defence formed by ironclad gunboats, among them the *Manassas*, an iron ram, and the *Louisiana*, a powerful floating battery. After the Unionists had bombarded the two forts, which completely command the stream, for six days without any effect, they resolved to brave their fire, force the iron barrier in three divisions, sail up the river and risk battle with the "ironsides". The hazardous enterprise succeeded. As soon as the flotilla effected a landing before New Orleans, the victory was naturally decided.

Beauregard now had nothing more to defend in Corinth. His position there only made sense so long as it covered Mississippi and Louisiana, and especially New Orleans. He now finds himself strategically in the position that a lost battle would leave him no other choice than to disband his army into guerrillas, for without a large town, where railways and supplies are concentrated, in the rear of his army, he can no longer hold masses of men together.

McClellan has irrefutably proved that he is a military incompetent who, having been raised by favourable circumstances to a commanding and responsible position, wages war not in order to defeat the foe, but rather in order not to be defeated by the foe and thus forfeit his own usurped greatness. He bears himself like the old so-called "manoeuvring generals" who excused their anxious avoidance of any tactical decision with the plea that by strategic envelopment they obliged the enemy to give up his positions. The Confederates always escape him, because at the decisive moment he never attacks them. Thus, although their plan of retreat had already been announced ten days before even by the New York papers (for example, the *Tribune*), he let them quietly retire from Manassas to Richmond. He then divided his army and flanked the Con-

federates strategically by establishing himself with one body of troops before Yorktown. Siege warfare always affords a pretext for wasting time and avoiding battle. As soon as he had concentrated a military force superior to the Confederates, he let them retire from Yorktown to Williamsburg and from there further, without forcing them to give battle. A war has never yet been so wretchedly waged. If the rearguard action at Williamsburg ended in defeat for the Confederate rearguard instead of in a second Bull Run⁹⁹ for the Union troops, McClellan was wholly innocent of this result.

After a march of about twelve miles (English) in a twenty-four hours' downpour and through veritable seas of mud, 8,000 Union troops under General *Heintzelmann* (of German descent, but born in Pennsylvania) arrived in the vicinity of Williamsburg and met with only weak enemy pickets. As soon, however, as the latter had assured himself of their numerically inferior strength, he dispatched from his picked troops at Williamsburg reinforcements that gradually increased the number of his men to 25,000. By nine o'clock in the morning battle had been joined in earnest; at half past twelve General Heintzelmann discovered that the engagement was going in favour of the foe. He sent messenger after messenger to General Kearny, who was eight miles to his rear, but could only push slowly forward in consequence of the complete "dissolution" of the roads by the rain. For a whole hour Heintzelmann remained without reinforcements and the 7th and 8th Jersey regiments, which had expended their stock of powder, began to run for the woods on either side of the road. Heintzelmann now made Colonel Menill and a squadron of Pennsylvanian cavalry take up positions on both fringes of the forest, under the threat of firing on the fugitives. This brought the latter once more to a standstill.

Order was further restored by the example of a Massachusetts regiment, which had likewise expended its powder, but now fixed bayonets to its muskets and calmly awaited the foe. At length Kearny's vanguard under Brigadier Berry (from the State of Maine) came in sight. Heintzelmann's army received its rescuers with a wild "Hurrah"; he ordered the regimental band to strike up *Yankee Doodle*¹⁰⁰ and Berry's fresh forces to form a line almost half a mile in length in front of his exhausted troops. After preliminary musket fire, Berry's brigade made a bayonet charge at the double and drove the foe off the battlefield to his earthworks, the largest of which after repeated attacks and counter-attacks remained in the possession of the Union troops. Thus the equilibrium of the battle was restored. Berry's arrival had saved the Unionists. The arrival of the brigades of Jameson and Birney at four o'clock decided the victory. At nine o'clock in the evening the retreat of the Confederates from Williamsburg began; on the following day they continued it—in the direction of Richmond—hotly pursued by

Heintzelmann's cavalry. On the morning after the battle, between six and seven o'clock, Heintzelmann ordered Williamsburg to be occupied by General Jameson. The rearguard of the fleeing foe had evacuated the town from the opposite end only half an hour before. Heintzelmann's battle was an infantry battle in the true sense of the word. Artillery hardly came into action. Musket fire and bayonet attack were decisive. If the Congress at Washington wanted to pass a vote of thanks, it should have been to General Heintzelmann, who saved the Yankees from a second Bull Run, and not to McClellan, who in his wonted fashion avoided "the tactical decision" and let the numerically weaker adversary escape for the third time.

The Confederate army in Virginia has better chances than Beauregard's army, first because it is facing a McClellan instead of a Halleck, and then because the many streams on its line of retreat flow crosswise from the mountains to the sea. However, in order to avoid breaking up into bands *without a battle*, its generals will sooner or later be forced to accept a decisive battle, just as the Russians were obliged to fight at Smolensk and Borodino *against* the will of their generals, who judged the situation correctly. Lamentable as McClellan's conduct of the war has been, the constant withdrawals, accompanied by abandonment of artillery, munitions and other military stores, and simultaneously the small unsuccessful rearguard engagements, have at any rate badly demoralised the Confederates, as will become manifest on the day of a decisive battle. We come, therefore, to the summing up:

Should Beauregard or Jefferson Davis lose a decisive battle, their armies will then break up into bands. Should one of them win a decisive battle, which is altogether unlikely, in the best case the disbanding of their armies will then be deferred. They are not in a position to make the least lasting use even of a victory. They cannot advance 20 English miles without coming to a standstill and again awaiting the renewed offensive of the foe.

It still remains to examine the chances of a guerrilla war. But precisely in respect of the present war of the slaveholders it is most amazing how slight or rather how wholly lacking is the participation of the population in it. In 1813 the communications of the French were continually cut and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and twenty other leaders of partisans and Cossacks. In 1812 the population in Russia vanished completely from the French line of march; in 1814 the French peasants armed themselves and slew the patrols and stragglers of the Allies. But here nothing happens at all. Men resign themselves to the *fate of the big battles* and console themselves with "*Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*".* The tall talk of war even with knives passes

* "The cause of the victory pleased the gods, but that of the vanquished pleased Cato" (Lucian, *Pharsalia*).—Ed.

off in smoke. There can be hardly any doubt, it is true, that the *white trash*, as the planters themselves call the "poor whites," will attempt guerrilla warfare and brigandage. Such an attempt, however, will very quickly transform the propertied planters into *Unionists*. They will even call the Yankee troops to their aid. The alleged burnings of cotton, etc., on the Mississippi rest exclusively on the testimony of two Kentuckians who are said to have come to Louisville—certainly not *up* the Mississippi. The conflagration in New Orleans was easily organised. The fanaticism of the New Orleans merchants is explained by the fact that they were obliged to take a quantity of Confederate treasury bonds for hard cash. The conflagration at New Orleans will be repeated in other towns; assuredly, also, there will be a lot more burning; but theatrical coups like this can only bring the dissension between the planters and the "*white trash*" to a head and therewith—"finis secessiae"! *

Written on May 23-25, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 148,
May 30, 1862

* "The end of secession."—Ed.

*) A CRITICISM OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The crisis which at the moment dominates conditions in the United States has been brought about by twofold causes: military and political.

Had the last campaign been conducted according to a *single* strategic plan, the main army of the West was then bound, as previously explained in these columns,* to exploit its successes in Kentucky and Tennessee to penetrate through north Alabama to Georgia and to seize there the railway centres at Decatur, Milledgeville, etc. The link between the Eastern and Western armies of the secessionists would thereby have been broken and their mutual support rendered impossible. Instead of this, the Kentucky army marched south down the Mississippi in the direction of New Orleans and its victory near Memphis had no other result than to dispatch the greater part of Beauregard's troops to Richmond, so that the Confederates, with a superior army in a superior position, here now suddenly confronted McClellan, who had not exploited the defeat of the enemy's troops at Yorktown and Williamsburg and, on the other hand, had from the first split up his own fighting forces. McClellan's generalship, already described by us previously,** was in itself sufficient to ensure the ruin of the biggest and best disciplined army. Finally, War Secretary Stanton made an unpardonable mistake. To make an impression abroad, he suspended recruiting after the conquest of Tennessee and so condemned the army to constant weakening, just when it stood most in need of reinforcements for a rapid, decisive offensive. Despite the strategic blunders and despite McClellan's generalship, with a steady influx of recruits the war, if not decided by now, would nevertheless have been rapidly nearing a victorious decision. Stanton's step was so much the more unfortunate as the South at that precise moment enlisted every man from 18 to 35 years old and therefore staked everything on a *single* card. It is those men who have been trained in the meantime that almost everywhere give the Confederates the upper hand and secure the initiative to them. They held Halleck fast, dislodged Curtis from Arkansas, beat McClellan, and under Stonewall Jackson gave the signal for the guerrilla raids that are now already pushing as far as the Ohio.

* See pp. 136-38 of this book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 127-29 of this book.—*Ed.*

In part, the military causes of the crisis are connected with the political. It was the influence of the Democratic Party that elevated an incompetent like McClellan to the position of Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces of the North, because he had been a supporter of Breckinridge. It is anxious regard for the wishes, advantages and interests of the spokesmen of the *border slave states* that has so far broken off the Civil War's point of principle and, so to speak, deprived it of its soul. The "loyal" slaveholders of these border states saw to it that the fugitive slave laws¹⁰¹ dictated by the South were maintained and the sympathies of the Negroes for the North forcibly suppressed, that no general could venture to put a company of Negroes in the field and that slavery was finally transformed from the Achilles' heel of the South into its invulnerable horny hide. Thanks to the slaves, who perform all productive labours, all the able-bodied manhood of the South can be put into the field!

At the present moment, when secession's stocks are rising, the spokesmen of the border states raise their claims. However, Lincoln's appeal¹⁰² to them, in which he threatens them with inundation by the Abolition party, shows that things are taking a revolutionary turn. Lincoln knows what Europe does not know, that it is by no means apathy or giving way under pressure of defeat that causes his demand for 300,000 recruits to meet with such a cold response. New England and the North-west, which have provided the main body of the army, are determined to enforce on the government a revolutionary waging of war and to inscribe the battle-slogan of "Abolition of Slavery!" on the star-spangled banner. Lincoln yields only hesitantly and uneasily to this pressure from without, but he knows that he cannot resist it for long. Hence his urgent appeal to the border states to renounce the institution of slavery voluntarily and under advantageous contractual conditions. He knows that only the continuance of slavery in the border states has so far left slavery untouched in the South and prohibited the North from applying its great radical remedy. He errs only if he imagines that the "loyal" slaveholders are to be moved by benevolent speeches and rational arguments. They will yield only to force.

So far we have only witnessed the first act of the Civil War—the *constitutional* waging of war. The second act, the *revolutionary* waging of war, is at hand.

Meanwhile, during its first session the Congress, now adjourned, decreed a series of important measures that we will briefly summarise here.

Apart from its financial legislation, it passed the *Homestead Bill*, which the Northern popular masses had long striven for in vain; by this a part of the state lands is given gratis for cultivation to the colonists, whether American born or immigrants.¹⁰³ It abolished slavery in [the

District of] Columbia and the national capital, with monetary compensation for the former slaveholders. Slavery has been declared "forever impossible" in all the *Territories* of the United States. The Act under which the new State of *West Virginia* is admitted into the Union prescribes abolition of slavery by stages and declares all Negro children born after July 4, 1863, to be born free. The conditions of this emancipation by stages are on the whole borrowed from the law that was enacted 70 years ago in Pennsylvania for the same purpose. By a fourth Act all slaves of rebels are to be emancipated as soon as they fall into the hands of the republican army. Another law, which is now being put into effect *for the first time*, provides that these emancipated Negroes may be militarily organised and put into the field against the South. The independence of the Negro republics of Liberia and Haiti has been recognised and, finally, a treaty for the abolition of the slave trade has been concluded with Britain.

Thus, however the dice may fall in the fortunes of war, it can already now safely be said that Negro slavery will not long outlive the Civil War.

Written on August 4, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 218,
August 9, 1862

*) ABOLITIONIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN AMERICA

It was previously observed in these columns* that President *Lincoln*, legally cautious, constitutionally conciliatory, by birth a citizen of the border slave state of *Kentucky*, is escaping only with difficulty from the control of the "loyal" slaveholders, seeking to avoid any open breach with them and precisely thereby provoking a conflict with the parties of the North which are consistent in point of principle and are being pushed more and more into the foreground by events. The speech that *Wendell Phillips* delivered at Abington, *Massachusetts*, on the occasion of the anniversary of the slaves' emancipation in the British West Indies, may be regarded as a prologue to this conflict.

Together with *Garrison* and *G. Smith*, *Wendell Phillips* is the leader of the Abolitionists in New England. For 30 years he has without intermission and at the risk of his life proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves as his battle-cry, regardless alike of the persiflage of the press, the enraged howls of paid rowdies and the conciliatory representations of solicitous friends. Even by his opponents he is acknowledged as one of the greatest orators of the North, as combining iron character with forceful energy and purest conviction. The London *Times*—and what could characterise this magnanimous paper more strikingly—today *denounces* *Wendell Phillips'* speech at Abington to the government at Washington. It is an "abuse" of freedom of speech, it says.

"Anything more violent it is scarcely possible to imagine—says *The Times*—and anything more daring in a time of Civil War was never perpetrated in any country by any sane man who valued his life and liberty. In reading the speech ... it is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion that the speaker's object was to force the government to prosecute him."

And *The Times*, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its hatred of the Union government, appears not at all disinclined to assume the role of public prosecutor!

In the present state of affairs *Wendell Phillips'* Abington speech is of greater importance than a battle bulletin. We therefore summarise its most striking passages.

"The government," he says among other things, "is fighting for the maintenance of slavery, and therefore it is fighting in vain. Lincoln is waging a political

* See pp. 127 and 149-50.—Ed.

war. Even at the present time he is more afraid of Kentucky than of the entire North. He believes in the South. The Negroes on the Southern battlefields, when asked whether the rain of cannon-balls and bombs that tore up the earth all round and split the trees asunder did not terrify them, answered: 'No, massa; we know that they are not meant for us!' The rebels could speak of McClellan's bombs in the same way. They know that they are not meant for them, to do them harm. I do not say that McClellan is a traitor; but I say that if he were a traitor, he must have acted exactly as he has done. Have no fear for Richmond; McClellan will not take it. If the war is continued in this fashion, without a rational aim, then it is a useless squandering of blood and gold. It would be better were the South independent today than to hazard one more human life for a war based on the present execrable policy. To continue the war in the fashion prevailing hitherto, requires 125,000 men a year and a million dollars a day. But you cannot get rid of the South. As Jefferson said of slavery: 'The Southern states have the wolf by the ears, but they can neither hold him nor let him go.' In the same way we have the South by the ears and can neither hold it nor let it go. Recognise it tomorrow and you will have no peace. For eighty years it has lived with us, in fear of us the whole time, with hatred for us half the time, ever troubling and abusing us. Made presumptuous by conceding its present claims, it would not keep within an imaginary border-line a year—nay, the moment that we speak of conditions of peace, it will cry victory! We shall never have peace until slavery is uprooted. So long as you retain the present tortoise at the head of our government, you make a hole with one hand in order to fill it with the other. Let the entire nation endorse the resolutions of the New York Chamber of Commerce and then the army will have something for which it is worth while fighting. Had Jefferson Davis the power, he would not capture Washington. He knows that the bomb that fell in this Sodom would rouse the whole nation.

"The entire North would thunder with one voice: 'Down with slavery, down with everything that stands in the way of saving the republic!' Jefferson Davis is quite satisfied with his successes. They are greater than he anticipated, far greater! If he can continue to swim on them till March 4, 1863, England will then, and this is in order, recognise the Southern Confederacy.... The President has not put the Confiscation Act into operation. He may be honest, but what has his honesty to do with the matter? He has neither insight nor foresight. When I was in Washington, I ascertained that three months ago Lincoln had written the proclamation for a general emancipation of the slaves and that McClellan blustered him out of his decision and that the representatives of Kentucky blustered him into the retention of McClellan, in whom he places no confidence. It will take years for Lincoln to learn to combine his legal scruples as an attorney with the demands of the Civil War. This is the appalling condition of a democratic government and its greatest evil.

"In France a hundred men, convinced of the righteousness of their cause, would carry the nation with them; but in order that our government may take a step, nineteen millions must previously put themselves in motion. And to how many of these millions has it been preached for years that slavery is an institution ordained by God! With these prejudices, with paralysed hands and hearts, you entreat the President to save you from the Negro! If this theory is correct, then only slaveholding despotism can bring a temporary peace.... I know Lincoln. I have taken his measure in Washington. He is a first-rate second-rate man. He waits honestly, like a new broom, for the nation to take him and sweep away slavery through him.... In past years, not far from the platform from which I now speak, the Whigs fired off small mortars in order to stifle my voice. And what is the result?

"The sons of these Whigs now fill their own graves in the marshes of Chickahominy¹⁰⁴! Dissolve this Union in God's name and put another in its place, on

the corner-stone of which is written: 'Political equality for all the citizens of the world'.... During my stay in Chicago I asked lawyers of Illinois, among whom Lincoln had practised, what sort of man he was. Whether he could say No. The answer was: 'He lacks backbone. If the Americans wanted to elect a man absolutely incapable of leadership, of initiative, then they were bound to elect Abraham Lincoln.... Never has a man heard him say No!' ... I asked: 'Is McClellan a man who can say No?' The manager of the Chicago Central Railroad, on which McClellan was employed, answered: 'He is incapable of making a decision. Put a question to him and it takes an hour for him to think of the answer. During the time that he was connected with the administration of the Central Railroad, he never decided a single important controversial question.'

"And these are the two men who, above all others, now hold the fate of the Northern republic in their hands! Those best acquainted with the state of the army assure us that Richmond could have been taken five times, had the do-nothing at the head of the army of the Potomac allowed it; but he preferred to dig up dirt in the Chickahominy swamps, in order ignominiously to abandon the locality and his dirt ramparts. Lincoln, out of cowardly fear of the border slave states, keeps this man in his present position; but the day will come when Lincoln will confess that he has never believed in McClellan.... Let us hope that the war lasts long enough to transform us into men, and then we shall quickly triumph. God has put the thunderbolt of emancipation into our hands in order to crush this rebellion...."

Written on August 22, 1862

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August 30, 1862

COMMENTS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN EVENTS

The short campaign in Maryland¹⁰⁵ has decided the fate of the American Civil War, however much the fortune of war may still vacillate between the opposing parties for a shorter or longer time. As we have already stated in this newspaper, the fight for the possession of the border slave states is a fight for the domination of the Union,* and the Confederacy has been defeated in this fight, which it started under extremely favourable circumstances that are not likely ever to occur again.

Maryland was rightly considered the head and Kentucky the arm of the slaveholders' party in the border states. Maryland's capital, Baltimore, has been kept "loyal" up to now only by the imposition of martial law. It was an accepted dogma not only in the South but also in the North that the arrival of the Confederates in Maryland would be the signal for a popular rising *en masse* against "Lincoln's satellites". It was not only a question of a military success there but also of a moral demonstration which was expected to electrify the Southern elements in all the border states and to draw them forcefully into the vortex.

With Maryland Washington would fall, Philadelphia would be menaced and New York would no longer be safe. The invasion of Kentucky,¹⁰⁶ the most important of the border states owing to the size of its population, its situation and its economic resources, which took place simultaneously, was, considered in isolation, merely a diversion. But supported by decisive successes in Maryland, it could have crushed the Union party in Tennessee, outflanked Missouri, protected Arkansas and Texas, threatened New Orleans, and above all shifted the theatre of war to Ohio, the central state of the North, whose possession spells the subjugation of the North just as the possession of Georgia that of the South. A Confederate army in Ohio would cut off the West of the Northern states from the East and wage the war against the enemies from their own centre. After the fiasco of the rebels' main army in Maryland, the invasion of Kentucky, which was not pressing ahead with sufficient drive and was nowhere supported by popular sympathy, was reduced to an insignificant guerrilla attack. Even the occupation of Louisville would now only unite the "giants of the

COMMENTS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN EVENTS

West",¹⁰⁷ the legions from Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, so that they formed an avalanche similar to that which crashed down on the South during the first glorious Kentucky campaign.

The Maryland campaign has thus proved that the waves of secession lack the power to roll over the Potomac and reach the Ohio. The South has been reduced to the defensive, but *offensive operations* were its only chance of success. Deprived of the border states and hemmed in by the Mississippi in the west and the Atlantic in the east, the South has conquered nothing—but a graveyard.

One must never forget that when the Southerners hoisted the banner of rebellion they held the border states and dominated them politically. What they demanded were the territories. They have lost both the territories and the border states.

Nevertheless, the invasion of Maryland was risked at a most favourable conjuncture. The North had suffered a disgraceful series of quite unprecedented defeats, the Federal army was demoralised, Stonewall Jackson the hero of the day, Lincoln and his government a universal laughing-stock, the Democratic Party had again grown strong in the North and people expected Jefferson Davis to become president, France and England were preparing openly to proclaim the legitimacy—already recognised at home—of the slaveholders. "*E pur si muove.*"* Reason nevertheless prevails in world history.

Lincoln's proclamation is even more important than the Maryland campaign. Lincoln is a *sui generis* figure in the annals of history. He has no initiative, no idealistic impetus, no cothurnus, no historical trapplings. He gives his most important actions always the most commonplace form. Other people declaim about the "struggle for an idea", when it is for them a matter of square feet of land. Lincoln even when he is motivated by an idea talks about "square feet". He sings the bravura aria of his part hesitatively, reluctantly and indignantly, as though apologising for being compelled by circumstances "to act the lion". The most redoubtable decrees—which will always remain remarkable historical documents—flung by him at the enemy all look like, and are intended to look like, routine summonses sent by a lawyer to the lawyer of the opposing party, subtle legal arguments, involved hidebound juridical acts. His latest proclamation, which is drafted in the same style, is the manifesto abolishing slavery,¹⁰⁸ it is the most important document in American history since the establishment of the Union, and it denotes the tearing up of the old American Constitution.

Nothing is simpler than to show that Lincoln's principal political actions contain much that is aesthetically repulsive, logically inadequate, farcical in form and politically contradictory, and this is done by

* See pp. 93-100 and 148-50 of this book.—Ed.

* But it does move. —Ed.

the English Pindars of slavery, *The Times*, *The Saturday Review* and the rest. But Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and of mankind will nevertheless be next to that of Washington. Nowadays when the insignificant struts about melodramatically on this side of the Atlantic, is it of no significance that the significant is clothed in everyday dress in the new world?

Lincoln is not the product of a popular revolution. This plebeian, who worked his way up from stone-breaker to Senator in Illinois, without intellectual brilliance, without a particularly outstanding character, without exceptional importance—an average person of good will, was placed at the top by the normal interplay of the forces of universal suffrage unaware of the great issues at stake. The new world has never achieved a greater triumph than by this demonstration that, given its political and social organisation, ordinary people of good will can accomplish feats which only heroes could accomplish in the old world!

Hegel once observed that comedy is in fact superior to tragedy and humorous reasoning superior to grandiloquent reasoning.¹⁰⁹ Although Lincoln does not possess the grandiloquence of his historical actions, but as an average man of the people he has his humour. When does he issue the proclamation declaring that from January 1, 1863, slavery in the Confederacy shall be abolished? At the very moment when the Confederacy as an independent state decided on "peace negotiations" at its Richmond Congress. At the very moment when the slave-owners of the border states believed that the invasion of Kentucky by the armies of the South guaranteed "the peculiar institution" just as it guaranteed their domination over their compatriot, President Abraham Lincoln in Washington.

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October 12, 1862

***) THE SITUATION
IN NORTH AMERICA**

London, November 4, 1862

General Bragg, who commands the Southern army in Kentucky—the other fighting forces of the South stationed there are restricted to guerrilla bands—on invading this border state issued a proclamation which throws considerable light on the latest combined moves of the Confederacy. Bragg's proclamation, addressed to the states of the North-west, implies that his success in Kentucky is a matter of course, and obviously calculates on the eventuality of a victorious advance into Ohio, the central state of the North. In the first place, he declares the readiness of the Confederacy to guarantee free navigation on the Mississippi and the Ohio. This guarantee only acquires import the moment the slaveholders find themselves in possession of the border states. At Richmond, therefore, it was implied that the simultaneous invasions of Lee in Maryland and Bragg in Kentucky would secure possession of the border states at one blow. Bragg then goes on to prove the right of the South, which is only fighting for its independence, but, for the rest, wants peace. The real, characteristic point of the proclamation, however, is the offer of a separate peace with the North-western states, the invitation to them to secede from the Union and join the Confederacy, since the economic interests of the North-west and the South coincide just as much as those of the North-west and the North-east are inimically opposed. We see: The South barely fancied itself safely in possession of the border states, when it officially blabbed out its ulterior object of a reconstruction of the Union to the exclusion of the states of New England.

Like the invasion of Maryland, however, that of Kentucky has also come to grief: as the former in the battle of Antietam Creek, so the latter in the battle of Perryville, near Louisville. As there, so here, the Confederates found themselves on the offensive, having attacked the advance guard of Buell's army. The Federals owe their victory to General McCook, the commander of the advance guard, who held his ground against the foe's far superior forces long enough to give Buell time to bring his main body into the field. There is not the slightest doubt that the defeat at Perryville will entail the evacuation of Kentucky. The most considerable guerrilla band, formed out of the most fanatical partisans of the slave system in Kentucky and led by General Morgan, has been annihilated at Frankfort (between Louisville and

Lexington) at almost the same time. Finally, the decisive victory of Rosecrans at Corinth supervenes, which makes imperative the hastiest retreat of the beaten invasion army commanded by General Bragg.

Thus the Confederate campaign for the reconquest of the lost border slave states, which was undertaken on a large scale, with military skill and with the most favourable chances, has come utterly to grief. Apart from the immediate military results, these struggles contribute in another way to the removal of the main difficulty. The hold of the slave states proper on the border states naturally rests on the slave element of the latter, the same element that enforces diplomatic and constitutional considerations on the Union government in its struggle against slavery. In the border states, however, the principal theatre of the Civil War, this element is in practice being reduced to nothing by the Civil War itself. A large section of the slaveholders, with their "black chattels", are constantly migrating to the South, in order to bring their property to a place of safety. With each defeat of the Confederates this migration is renewed on a larger scale.

One of my friends,* a German officer, who fought under the star-spangled banner in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee in turn, writes to me that this migration is wholly reminiscent of the exodus from Ireland in 1847 and 1848. Furthermore, the energetic sections of the slaveholders, the youth, on the one hand, and the political and military leaders, on the other, separate themselves from the bulk of their class, since they either form guerrilla bands in their own states and, as guerrilla bands, are annihilated, or they leave home and are enlisted in the army or the administration of the Confederacy. Hence the result: on the one hand, an immense reduction of the slave element in the border states, where it had always to contend with the "encroachments" of competing free labour. On the other hand, removal of the energetic section of the slaveholders and its white following. There is left behind only a sediment of "moderate" slaveholders, who will soon grasp greedily at the pile of money offered them by Washington for the redemption of their "black chattels", whose value will in any case be lost as soon as the Southern market is closed to their sale. Thus the war itself brings about a solution by actually revolutionising the form of society in the border states.

For the South the most favourable season for waging war is over; for the North it is beginning, since the inland rivers are now navigable once more and the combination of land and sea warfare already attempted with so much success is again possible. The North has eagerly availed itself of the interval. "Ironclads", ten in number, for the rivers of the West, are rapidly nearing completion; to which must be added twice as

* Joseph Weydemeyer.—Ed.

many semi-armoured vessels for shallow waters. In the East many new armoured vessels have already left the yards, whilst others are still under the hammer. All will be ready by the first of January, 1863. Ericsson, the inventor and builder of the *Monitor*, is directing the building of nine new ships after the same model. Four of them are already "afloat".

On the Potomac, in Tennessee and Virginia, as well as at different points in the South—Norfolk, New Bern, Port Royal, Pensacola and New Orleans—the army daily receives fresh reinforcements. The first levy of 300,000 men, which Lincoln announced in July, has been fully provided and is in part already at the theatre of war. The second levy of 300,000 men for nine months is gradually being raised. In some states conscription has been done away with by voluntary enlistment; in none does it encounter serious difficulties. Ignorance and hatred have decried conscription as an unheard-of occurrence in the history of the United States. Nothing can be more mistaken. Great bodies of troops were conscripted during the War of Independence and the second war with England (1812-15), indeed, even in sundry small wars with the Indians, without this ever encountering opposition worth mentioning.

It is a noteworthy fact that during the present year Europe supplied the United States with an emigrant contingent of approximately 100,000 souls and that half of these emigrants consist of Irishmen and Britons. At the recent congress of the English Association for the Advancement of Science at Cambridge, the economist Merivale was obliged to remind his countrymen of a fact which *The Times*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Morning Post* and *The Morning Herald*, not to speak of the *dii minorum gentium*,* have so completely forgotten, or want to make England forget, namely, that the majority of the English surplus population finds a new home in the United States.

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November 10, 1862

* Gods of minor peoples.—Ed.

SYMPTOMS OF DISSOLUTION IN THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY

The English press is more Southern than the South. While it regards everything in the North as black and everything in the country of the "nigger" as white, people in the slave states are by no means deluding themselves with the "certainty of victory", about which *The Times* triumphantly writes.

The Southern press is unanimous in lamenting over the defeat at Corinth and accuses generals Price and Van Dorn of "incompetence and presumption".¹¹⁰ The *Mobile Advertiser* mentions that the 42nd Alabama regiment, which went into battle on Friday numbering 530 men, consisted of 300 men on Saturday and comprised only 10 men on Sunday evening. The others had been killed, taken prisoner, wounded or lost on the way. The Virginian newspapers write in a similar vein.

The *Richmond Whig* says:

It is clear that our Mississippi campaign has failed to achieve its immediate object.

And the *Richmond Enquirer* writes:

It is to be feared that this battle will have the most detrimental consequences for our campaign in the West.

This premonition has come true as the evacuation of Kentucky by Bragg and the defeat of the Confederate troops at Nashville (Tennessee) show.¹¹¹

The same source, the newspapers of Virginia, Georgia and Alabama, provides us with interesting revelations about the conflict between the central government at Richmond and the governments of the individual slave states. It was caused by the latest Conscription Act, by means of which Congress extends military service far beyond the normal age. Under this Act a certain Levingood was conscripted in Georgia and when he refused to comply, he was arrested by an agent of the Confederacy, J. P. Bruce. Levingood appealed to the highest court of Elbert County (Georgia), which ordered his immediate release. The very detailed motivation of the judgment contains the following passage:

The preamble to the Constitution of the Confederacy carefully and explicitly declares that the individual states are sovereign and independent. How can this be said of Georgia if every militiaman can be forcibly removed from the control of his supreme commander? If the Congress at Richmond can pass a Conscription

Act which does make certain exceptions, what will prevent it from passing a Conscription Act which makes no exceptions, and hence from conscripting the governor, the legislature and the judiciary and thus putting an end to the entire administration of a state? For this and other reasons we herewith rule and decree that the Conscription Act promulgated by Congress is null and void and has no legal validity.

Georgia has thus prohibited conscription within its borders and the government of the Confederacy has not dared to challenge this prohibition.

Similar friction between a secessionist state and the secessionist Confederacy has occurred in Virginia. The reason for the quarrel is the refusal of the state government to allow the agents of Mr. Jefferson Davis to conscript Virginia's militiamen and incorporate them into the army of the Confederacy. An exchange of caustic letters has taken place in this connection between the Secretary of War and General J. B. Floyd, the notorious fellow who as Secretary of War of the Union in President Buchanan's Administration prepared the way for the secession and in addition saw to it that considerable amounts "seceded" from the coffers of the state and moved into his own purse. This secessionist chief, who is known in the North as Floyd the Thief, comes forward now as the champion of Virginia's rights and attacks the Confederacy. The *Richmond Examiner*'s note about the correspondence between Floyd and the Secretary of War includes the following passage:

The whole correspondence illustrates very well the opposition and hostility our state (Virginia) and its army have to suffer from those who abuse the power of the Confederacy at Richmond. Virginia has been burdened with interminable levies. But there is a limit to everything, and the state is no longer prepared to suffer injustice patiently. Almost all the weapons, ammunition and other military supplies which have helped to win the battles of Bethel and Manassas were provided by Virginia. Virginia's own armories and arsenals have given the Confederate army 73,000 rifles and muskets, 233 pieces of ordnance and an excellent arms factory. It was in the service of the Confederacy that Virginia has been drained, to the last dregs, of its able-bodied men, and it has been forced to chase the enemy single-handed from its western border. Is it then not disgraceful that the creatures of the Confederate government now dare to play fast and loose with it?

The fact that the adult male population of Texas have repeatedly been marched off to the east has in this state too aroused opposition to the Confederacy. Mr. Oldham, the Representative from Texas, has made the following protest at the Congress in Richmond on September 30:

In the wild-goose expedition of Subley 3,500 crack troops of Texas were sent to their doom on the arid plains of New Mexico. The upshot was that the enemy has moved up to our borders and will cross them during the winter. You have transported our best troops from Texas to the east of the Mississippi, carried them off to Virginia and employed them at the most dangerous spots, where they have been decimated. Three-quarters of every Texas regiment rest in the grave or had to be discharged owing to sickness. If this government continues in a similar way

to withdraw men fit for action from Texas so as to keep those regiments at their normal strength, Texas will be ruined, irrevocably ruined. This is unjust and impolitic. My constituents must defend their families, their property and their native land. I protest in their name against the transportation of men from the west of the Mississippi to the east, thus exposing their own country to enemy incursions from the north, the east, the west and the south.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the quoted extracts, which were all derived from journals published in the South. The drastic measures taken by the Confederate government to replenish the ranks of the army have gone too far. The military resources are exhausted. But secondly, and that is more significant, the doctrine of the "states' rights", used by the usurpers at Richmond to give the secession a constitutional veneer, is turning against the Confederacy itself. This shows how little Mr. Jefferson Davis has succeeded in "transforming the South into one nation", as his English admirer Gladstone has boasted.

Written on November 7, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 313,
November 14, 1862

THE ELECTION RESULTS IN THE NORTHERN STATES

The elections are indeed a defeat suffered by the Washington government.¹¹² The old leaders of the Democratic Party have skilfully exploited the disgruntlement caused by financial incompetence and military ineptitude, and it is beyond doubt that New York State officially in the hands of the Seymours, Woods and Bennetts could become a centre of dangerous intrigues. But on the other hand, the practical significance of this reaction should not be overestimated. The session of the present Republican House of Representatives continues, and the new Representatives who have been elected now will supersede it only in December 1863. Insofar as the elections concern the Congress at Washington, they are for the present merely a demonstration. Governors have not been elected in any state apart from New York. The Republican Party thus retains the leadership in the individual states. The electoral victories of the Republicans in Massachusetts, Iowa, Illinois and Michigan compensate in some degree for their losses in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.

A somewhat closer analysis of the "Democratic" gains leads to conclusions quite different from those widely publicised by the English newspapers. New York City, which has a strong admixture of Irish riff-raff, actively participated in the slave trade until recently, is the seat of the American money market and teems with mortgagees of plantations situated in the South. This city has always sided with the "Democrats", just as Liverpool is pro-Tory even today. The *rural districts* of New York State have this time voted Republican, as they have done since 1856, though not as eagerly as in 1860. Moreover a considerable number of the men entitled to vote are fighting at the front. If one adds up both the urban and rural districts, then the Democratic majority in New York State amounts to only 8,000-10,000 votes.

Pennsylvania, which for a long time vacillated between Whigs¹¹³ and Democrats, and later between Democrats and Republicans, has a Democratic majority of merely 3,500 votes, this majority is even smaller in Indiana, and amounts to 8,000 votes in Ohio, but Democratic leaders there who are known to sympathise with the South, for example the notorious Vallandigham, have lost their seats in Congress. The Irish regard the Negroes as dangerous competitors. The hatred

which the efficient peasants in Indiana and Ohio have for Negroes is surpassed only by their hatred for slave-owners. The Negro is for them the symbol of slavery and of the degradation of the working class, and the Democratic press threatens them every day with the inundation of their territories by the "niggers". The dissatisfaction with the wretched conduct of the war in Virginia was expressed loudest in these states, which provided the largest contingents of volunteers.

But all this does not concern the main issue. When Lincoln was elected (1860) there was no Civil War, nor was Negro emancipation the order of the day. All the Republican Party, which at that time was clearly separated from the Abolitionists, intended to achieve in 1860 with its electoral vote was a protest against the extension of slavery into the Territories but at the same time it declared that it would not interfere with this institution in the states where it already existed legally. Lincoln would have undoubtedly failed if *slave emancipation* had been the campaign slogan. It was definitely rejected.

The situation was quite different during the elections which have just taken place. The Republicans acted jointly with the Abolitionists. They emphatically stated that they were for immediate emancipation, whether for its own sake or as a means to ending the rebellion. If one takes this circumstance into account, then the government majority in Michigan, Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa and Delaware, and the very substantial minority which voted for the government in New York State, Ohio and Pennsylvania, seem equally surprising. Such a result would have been impossible before the war, even in Massachusetts. All that is required to give the Abolitionists, who are now identical with the Republicans, moral and numerical superiority everywhere is vigour on the part of the government and of Congress, which will meet next month. Louis Bonaparte's desire to intervene¹¹⁴ strengthens their position from "abroad". The only danger is the retention of such generals as McClellan who apart from their incompetence are acknowledged pro-slavery men.

Written on November 18, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 321,
November 23, 1862

* THE DISMISSAL OF McCLELLAN

McClellan's dismissal! That is Lincoln's answer to the election victories of the Democrats.

The Democratic journals had stated with the most positive assurance that the election of Seymour as Governor of New York State would entail the immediate revocation of the *proclamation* in which Lincoln declared slavery abolished in *Secessia* from January 1, 1863. The paper that took this prophetic imprint had hardly left the press when their favourite general—their favourite because "next to a great defeat he most feared a decisive victory"—was deprived of his command and went back to private life.

We recall that McClellan replied to this proclamation of Lincoln with a counter-proclamation, an order of the day to his army, in which he indeed forbade any demonstration against the President's measure, but at the same time let slip the fatal words: "...It is the task of citizens through the polls to rectify the government's errors or to judge its actions." McClellan, at the head of the main army of the United States, therefore appealed from the President to the impending elections. He threw the weight of his position into the scales. A *pronunciamiento* in the Spanish manner aside, he could not have demonstrated his hostility to the president's policy more strikingly. Accordingly, after the election victory of the Democrats the only choice left to Lincoln was either to sink to the level of a tool of the pro-slavery compromise party or with McClellan to remove from under it its point of support in the army.

McClellan's dismissal at *this* moment is accordingly a political demonstration. In any case, however, it had become indispensable. Halleck, the Commander-in-Chief, in a report to the Secretary of War, had charged McClellan with direct insubordination. For, shortly after the defeat of the Confederates in Maryland, on October 6, Halleck ordered the crossing of the Potomac, particularly as the low water-level of the Potomac and its tributaries favoured military operations at the time. In defiance of this order McClellan remained immobile, under the pretext of his army's inability to march due to lack of provisions. In the report mentioned, Halleck proves that this was a hollow subterfuge, that, compared with the Western army, the Eastern army enjoyed great privileges in respect of the commissariat and that the supplies still lacking could have been received just as well south as north of the

Potomac. A second report links up with this report of Halleck's; in it the committee appointed to inquire into the surrender of Harper's Ferry¹¹⁵ to the Confederates accuses McClellan of having concentrated the Union troops stationed near that arsenal in an inconceivably slow fashion—he let them march only six English miles (about one and a half German miles) a day—for the purpose of its relief. Both reports, that of Halleck and that of the Committee, were in the President's hands before the election victory of the Democrats.

McClellan's generalship has been described in these columns so repeatedly* that it is sufficient to recall how he sought to substitute strategical envelopment for tactical decision and how indefatigable he was in discovering considerations of general-staff discretion which forbade him either to take advantage of victories or to anticipate defeats. The brief Maryland campaign has cast a false halo about his head. Here, however, we have to consider the fact that he received his general marching orders from General Halleck, who also drew up the plan of the first Kentucky campaign, and that victory on the battlefield was due exclusively to the bravery of the subordinate generals, in particular of General Reno, who fell, and of Hooker, who has not yet recovered from his wounds. Napoleon once wrote to his brother Joseph that on the battlefield there was danger at all points alike and one ran into its jaws most surely when one sought to avoid it. McClellan seems to have grasped this axiom but without giving it the practical application which Napoleon suggested to his brother. During the whole of his military career McClellan has never been on the battlefield, has never been under fire, a peculiarity that General Kearny strongly stresses in a letter which his brother published after Kearny, fighting under Pope's command, fell in one of the battles before Washington.

McClellan understood how to conceal his mediocrity under a mask of restrained earnestness, laconic reticence and dignified reserve. His very defects secured him the unshakable confidence of the Democratic Party in the North and the "loyal acknowledgment" of the secessionists. Among the higher officers of his army he gained supporters through the formation of a general staff of dimensions hitherto unheard of in the annals of military history. A section of the older officers, who had belonged to the former army of the Union and had received their training in the Academy at West Point, found in him a point of support for their rivalry with the newly sprung up "civilian generals" and for their secret sympathies with the "comrades" in the enemy camp. The soldiers, finally, knew of his military qualities only by hearsay; for the rest they ascribed to him old merits of the commissariat and could tell many a glorious tale of his reserved affability. A single gift of the

THE DISMISSAL OF McCLELLAN

supreme commander McClellan possessed—that of assuring himself of popularity with his army.

McClellan's successor, Burnside, is too little known to pronounce an opinion about. He belongs to the Republican Party. Hooker, on the other hand, who assumes command of the army corps serving specifically under McClellan, is incontestably one of the doughtiest blades in the Union. "Fighting Joe", as the troops call him, played the largest part in the successes in Maryland. He is an Abolitionist.

The same American papers which bring us the news of McClellan's dismissal, acquaint us with utterances of Lincoln in which he resolutely declares that he will not deviate a hair's breadth from his proclamation.

He [Lincoln]—observes *The Morning Star* with justice—has by successive exhibitions of firmness, taught the world to know him as a slow, but solid man, who advances with excessive caution, but does not go back. Each step of his administrative career has been in the right direction and has been stoutly maintained. Starting from the resolution to exclude slavery from the Territories, he has come within sight of the ulterior result of all anti-slavery movements—its extirpation from the whole soil of the Union—and has already reached the high vantage ground at which the *Union* ceased to be responsible for the enslavement of a single human being.

Written on November 24, 1862

Published in *Die Presse* No. 327,
November 29, 1862

* See pp. 127-29, 144-47, 148-50 and 151-53 of this book.—Ed.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

Sir,—We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.

From the commencement of the Titanic American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labour of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world "slavery" on the banner of Armed Revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man* was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding "the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution", and maintained "slavery to be a beneficent institution", indeed, the only solution of the great problem of "the relation of capital to labour", and cynically proclaimed property in man "the corner-stone of the new edifice",—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labour, and that for the men of labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis,¹¹⁶ opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention—opportunities of their betters—and, from most parts of Europe, contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

While the working men, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro,

mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned labourer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

The working men of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchainèd race and the reconstruction of a social world.

Written between November 22 and 29, 1864

Reproduced from the newspaper

Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*
No. 169, January 7, 1865

Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*
in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow,
1973, pp. 22-23

* The reference is to the Declaration of Independence.—Ed.

ADDRESS
FROM THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States

Sir,

The demon of the "peculiar institution",¹¹⁷ for the supremacy of which the South rose in arms, would not allow his worshippers to honourably succumb in the open field. What he had begun in treason, he must needs end in infamy. As Philip II's war for the Inquisition bred a Gérard, thus Jefferson Davis's pro-slavery war a Booth.

It is not our part to call words of sorrow and horror, while the heart of two worlds heaves with emotion. Even the sycophants who, year after year, and day by day, stick to their Sisyphus work of morally assassinating Abraham Lincoln, and the great Republic he headed, stand now aghast at this universal outburst of popular feeling, and rival with each other to strew rhetorical flowers on his open grave. They have now at last found out that he was a man, neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favour, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the gleams of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humour, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as Heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great, without ceasing to be good. Such, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man, that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr.

To be singled out by the side of such a chief, the second victim to the infernal gods of slavery, was an honour due to Mr. Seward. Had he not, at a time of general hesitation, the sagacity to foresee and the manliness to foretell "the irrepressible conflict"? Did he not, in the darkest hours of that conflict, prove true to the Roman duty to never despair of the Republic and its stars? We earnestly hope that he and his son will be restored to health, public activity, and well-deserved honours within much less than "90 days".¹¹⁸

After a tremendous civil war, but which, if we consider its vast dimensions, and its broad scope, and compare it to the Old World's 100 years' wars, and 30 years' wars, and 23 years' wars,¹¹⁹ can hardly be said to have lasted 90 days. Yours, Sir, has become the task to uproot by the law what has been felled by the sword, to preside over the

arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration. A profound sense of your great mission will save you from any compromise with stern duties. You will never forget that, to initiate the new era of the emancipation of labour, the American people devolved the responsibilities of leadership upon two men of labour—the one Abraham Lincoln, the other Andrew Johnson.

Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, London, May 13th, 1865, by the Central Council.

Written between May 2 and 9, 1865

Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*
No. 188, May 20, 1865

Reproduced from the newspaper

The General Council of the First International. 1864-66, Moscow, 1974, pp. 294-96

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, January 7, 1861

...Things in North America are also becoming exciting. Matters must be going very badly with the slaves if the Southerners play so risky a game. The least volunteer *putsch* from the North could set everything ablaze. In any case, it seems that one way or another slavery is rapidly coming to an end, and then it will be the same with cotton production....

**MARX TO LION PHILIPS
IN ZALT-BOMMEL**

London, May 6, 1861
9, Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

...There is great consternation in London about the course of events in America. Not only the states that seceded have resorted to violent measures, but also some of the central or border states have done so—and it is feared that all eight border states, i.e. Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Maryland and Delaware, will side with the secessionists. These violent measures make it impossible to reach *any compromise*. At the beginning of the struggle, the scales will undoubtedly tip in favour of the South, where the class of propertyless white adventurers provides an inexhaustible source of supply for a bellicose militia. In the long run the North will of course win, for should the need arise it can play its trump card, a slave revolution. The great difficulty facing the North is the question how to get their forces to the South. Even an unopposed march of 15 miles per day would be somewhat trying at this season; but Charleston, the nearest point that could be attacked, is 544 miles from Washington, 681 miles from Philadelphia, 771 miles from New York and 994 miles from Boston, and the three last-mentioned cities are the principal bases of operations against the South. The distance of Montgomery, the seat of the Secessionist Congress,¹²⁰ from these cities is 910, 1,050, 1,130

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and 1,350 miles respectively. To march overland, therefore, seems quite out of the question. (The use of the railway by the Northern invaders would merely lead to its destruction.) Thus there remains only the sea route and naval warfare, this however could easily lead to complications with foreign powers. The British Government will announce in the House of Commons tonight what attitude it intends to adopt in case of such a contingency.

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

[Manchester,] June 12, 1861

Dear Mohr,

Unfortunately I have not collected any newspapers on the American War, and, besides, many places are not to be found on the map. The main thing is this:

The South had been preparing in secret for years, but particularly since the excitement of the presidential election¹²¹; through the treason of Buchanan's ministers it had obtained money and arms *en masse* even at the last moment. Till March 4, therefore, the North was completely paralysed. Even up to the fall of Sumter, Linc[oln] did nothing or could do nothing but concentrate somewhat more and put in somewhat better trim the few troops of the line (18,000 men in all, mostly dispersed in the West against the Indians). Now, after the attack on Sumter, the North was at length sufficiently aroused to reduce all opposition outbursts to silence and thereby to make possible a powerful military action. Seventy-five thousand men were called up, who may be on the move now, but ten times this number seem to have offered themselves, and there may now be as many as 100,000 men on the move, though not yet concentrated by a long way. A further levy by Lincoln is expected daily and will require less time, since everything is now better prepared. The 75,000 men, or rather those of them who are stationed in the neighbourhood of Washington, on the Ohio opposite Kentucky, and at St. Louis in Missouri (therefore not counting the reserves in Ohio and Pennsylvania), have been sufficient to restore for the time being the equilibrium between the forces of the North and of the South on the line of the Potomac and even to permit for the moment the offensive of the North over a short distance.

The first objective of both the South and the North was Washington. The offensive of the South in that direction was far too weak; beyond

Richmond the main force appears to have been no longer strong enough for a timely blow. The only thing that was achieved was the dispatch of a mobile column to Harper's Ferry on the Potomac, above Washington. This position is eminently suitable for an offensive against the North (Maryland and Pennsylvania); it lies at the confluence of the Shenandoah, an important river, and the Potomac, is tactically of great strength and completely commands both rivers. The Federal Armoury seems to have been placed there not unintentionally by a government that foresaw and favoured a future secession. The occupation of Harper's Ferry interrupts the Union troops' mastery of the Potomac line at a sensitive spot and immediately gives the Southern troops complete command of both banks in the event of their massive advance as far as this line.

On the holding of Washington by the North hung the fate of Maryland and Delaware; cut off from the South, occupied by Union troops, they fell at once to the Union. Second success of the Northerners.

The reconquest of Missouri by the Germans of St. Louis was the third success, and of enormous importance, since the possession of St. Louis bars the Mississippi.¹²² How far the neutrality of Kentucky is favourable to the North or South will presumably depend on circumstances and events. At any rate, it restricts the theatre of war for the present to the territory lying to the east.*

Result: After all the preparations of the South, then, it has accomplished nothing more than that the North, with only one month's preparation, has already conquered from it the capital of the country and three slave states, and a fourth slave state does not dare to secede¹²³; that the Southern offensive has come to a halt at the Potomac, and the North has already advanced beyond this river, so far without meeting resistance. For every additional man that the South can now put in the field, the North will put three to four. The states that have seceded have about 7,500,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 3,000,000 are slaves; 1,000,000 whites, at least, must be deducted for watching over the slaves, so that barely two and a half million remain to form the mass of the population available for war. If ten per cent of these are raised—the strongest force, I should say, that has ever been raised for defence—that gives at most 250,000 men. But so many will certainly not be got together. Switzerland, with nearly the same population—rather more than two million—has about 160,000 militiamen *on paper*. The North, on the other hand, counting the free states only, numbers 20,000,000, who are *all* available, with the exception, perhaps, of California, Utah and the remotest Western territories. Let us

* A slip of the pen in the original: west.—*Ed.*

say there is an available population of 17,000,000, and let us take not ten per cent of these, but only its third part, 3 1/3 per cent, as available for a war of offence, then that gives over 500,000 men, more than sufficient to crush the South, even given its utmost efforts. As far as the man to man relationship is concerned, there is no question that physically and morally the people of the North are considerably superior to those of the South. The pugnacity of the Southerner is combined to a significant extent with the cowardice of the assassin. Every man goes about armed, but only *to be able to down his adversary* in a quarrel before the latter expects the attack. That is the average....*

MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] June 19**, 1861

..Many thanks for your letter about America.*** If anything of importance (in the military field) occurs, I hope you will not fail to let me know your opinion about the matter. In accordance with the picture I formed of General Scott—who moreover is now 76 years old—during the Mexican war (see Ripley¹²⁴), I expect him to make enormous blunders, provided the old ass is not supervised by others. Above all tardiness and indecision. By the way, from the facts reported in the *Tribune*, I see that now the North talks openly about a slave war and abolition of slavery....

*) MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] July 1, 1861

..Please write me *at once* what you think of the movements (militarily) in Virginia. The blunders of the militia officers—Brigadier-General Peirce, by trade a “tailor” from Massachusetts—will naturally be repeated often enough on both sides.¹²⁵ Is Washington still threatened? Do you think the Southerners at Manassas Junction hold

* The end of the letter is missing.—*Ed.*

** A slip of the pen in the original: June 9.—*Ed.*

*** The reference is to the previous letter.—*Ed.*

an offensive position? Or are not the fellows rather on the point of retreat? In Missouri the defeat of the Southerners seems to be decisive, and the terrible "Colonel Börnstein" has now turned up there too. According to a private letter to Weber, "Colonel Willich" is at the head of troops from Cincinnati. He does not seem to have gone to the front yet.

A closer study of this American business has shown me that the conflict between South and North—after the latter has debased itself for the past fifty years by one concession after another—was finally (apart from the new shameless demands of "chivalry") brought to a head by the weight thrown into the scale by the extraordinary development of the North-western states. The population there, richly mixed with fresh German and English elements, and in addition self-working farmers for the most part, was naturally not so easily intimidated as the gentlemen of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston. According to the last census (1860), the population there increased by 67 per cent between 1850 and 1860, numbering 7,870,869 in 1860, whereas the total free population of the seceded slave states, according to the same census, is about 5,000,000. In 1860 these North-western states provided the bulk of the government party and the President.* And it was precisely this part of the North which first decided against any recognition of the independence of a Southern Confederacy. Naturally, they cannot allow the lower part and delta of the Mississippi to fall into the hands of foreign states. Likewise, it was the population of these North-western states, who in the Kansas affair¹²⁶ (from which the present war should actually be dated) came to grips with the border ruffians.

Closer examination of the history of the secession movement reveals that secession, Constitution (Montgomery), Congress (*ibid.*), etc., are all usurpations.¹²⁷ Nowhere did they allow the people to vote *en masse*. Very characteristic articles appeared at the time in the Southern papers on these "usurpations", in which it is not merely a question of seceding from the North, but of consolidating and intensifying the oligarchy of the 300,000 slavelords in the South against the 5,000,000 whites....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Dear Mohr,

Your questions about the state of affairs in Virginia are more easily put than answered. Is Washington still threatened? Not immediately,

* Abraham Lincoln. —Ed.

[Manchester,] July 3, 1861

otherwise the Southerners would not have given up so much ground; but one does not really know the relative strength of the armed forces. If the first main attack of the Northerners should be decisively repulsed, there's no telling what will happen, as one can't say where they will then come to a stop. Still, it's three to one that the Potomac would then also be a sufficient obstacle.

Position at Manassas Junction—determined by the necessity for the Southerners to maintain their communications with north-west Virginia by means of the railway to Paris and Strassburg. Should Manassas Junction be lost, their nearest railway communication with West Virginia (on the other side of the mountains) is the line from Richmond via Gordonsville to Staunton—80 miles further south; they lose the chance of rapidly moving their first-line reserves, those immediately behind the front, from west to east, etc., as required, and whatever is in West Virginia may be cut off or driven far afield. That is the significance of the position—whether it is tactically of any importance I cannot say, the maps do not allow of any conclusions. To begin with, the war in West Virginia in general will be above all for the railway junctions.

The affair at Big Bethel¹²⁸ is of no importance; tactically shockingly mismanaged; to make a night attack with such volunteers, and in divided columns into the bargain, could only end in confusion, one column shooting the other, and flight.

On the other hand, two things seem to be done badly in the North:
1. The masses of newly trained and fully mobile troops appear not to be brought forward at all; they are calmly left some four or five hundred miles from the battlefield, whereas they would be invaluable on the Potomac—and 2. Brave old Scott again seems to have vast encirclement plans, which only result in a vast splitting up of his forces; how far this may lead to defeats cannot be foretold in view of the slipshod management and the unknown heroes of the South.

What's that about not voting on secession? Here it was in all the papers that the Convention decisions had been ratified in every state by a popular vote....

***) MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] July 5, 1861

...With regard to the secession business, the matter is quite incorrectly reported in the English papers. Everywhere except in South

Carolina there was the strongest opposition to secession.

First: border slave states. In the winter of 1861 a border state Convention was held. Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee and North Carolina were invited to it. For this purpose conventions were held in each of these states in order to send delegates to the General Convention.

Delaware refused even to call a convention for this purpose.

Tennessee ditto. Its Democratic legislature took it out of the Union by a *coup de main*. Later, however, election was held, to ratify this invalid act. This took place under the reign of terror. More than a third did not vote at all. Of the remainder one-third against secession, including the whole of east Tennessee, which is now arming against secession.

Kentucky. 100,000 for the Union ticket; only a few thousand for secession.

Maryland declared for the Union, and it has now also elected six Union men as members of Congress.¹²⁹

North Carolina and even *Arkansas* elected Union delegates, the former even by a large majority. Later terrorised.

Virginia. The people elected a Union Convention (according to majority). A part of these fellows let themselves be bought. At the height of the South fever—fall of Sumter—an Ordinance of Secession passed secretly by 88 to 55. All other steps—while the Ordinance was kept secret—for the capture of the Federal Navy Yard at Norfolk and the Federal Armoury at Harper's Ferry in secret. Were betrayed to the Federal authorities before their execution. Alliance with Jeff[erson] Davis's government decided upon in secret and great masses of Confederate troops suddenly thrown into the state. Under their protection (in real Bonapartist style) now voting for secession. Nevertheless 50,000 Union votes, in spite of systematic terror. North-western Virginia has now, as you know, openly separated from the secession movement.

Second: Gulf states. A real popular vote took place only in a few states. In most cases, the *conventions*, elected to decide on the attitude of the Southern states to Lincoln's election (they formed later *their* delegates at the Montgomery Congress¹³⁰), usurped the power not only to decide on secession, but also to recognise the Constitution, Jeff[erson] Davis, etc. You will see what went on there from the extracts from South-American papers below.

Texas, in which after South Carolina the greatest slave party and terror, nevertheless 11,000 votes for the Union.

Alabama. The people voted neither on secession nor on the new Constitution, etc. The Convention elected here passed the Ordinance of Secession by 61 votes to 39. But the 39 from the Northern counties, populated almost entirely by whites, represented more free men than the 61; for according to the *United States Constitution* every slave-

owner votes at the same time for 3/5 of his slaves.

Louisiana. At the election for delegates to the Convention more Union votes were cast than secession votes. But the delegates deserted to the other side.

The west of Carolina, the east of Tennessee, the north of Alabama and Georgia, mountain districts with interests very different from those of the Southern swamps.

The December 2nd character¹³¹ of the whole secession manoeuvre (the fellows are consequently obliged to provoke a war in order to keep the movement alive under the slogan "The North against the South"), which you can see from the following excerpts, is further revealed by the fact that the traitors in Buchanan's Administration who stood at the head of the movement—Floyd, Secretary of War; Toucey, Secretary of the Navy; Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury; Thompson, Secretary of the Interior—together with the leading senators of the South, were most deeply involved in the *dilapidations*, running into many millions, which were referred to a Committee of Inquiry in the course of December 1860 by Congress (House of Representatives). For some of these fellows (at least) it was a matter of escaping penal servitude. That is why they are the most willing tools of the 300,000 slaveholder oligarchy. That the latter, as a result of their concentration, position and resources, are able for the moment to put down any opposition, goes without saying. They found in some of the "poor whites"¹³² the mob, who acted for them as substitutes of the Zouaves.

Georgia. The Griffin Union:

"It is mere mockery for the same men who made the Constitution in Montgomery to come back to Georgia and ratify it under the name of a state convention."

The Macon Journal:

"The State Conventions ... called for another purpose ... assume that they are the people, and under such an assumption of power can appoint delegates to a General Convention without consulting the people. *All the acts of the Congress of their Confederacy are passed in secret session with closed doors*, and what is done is kept from the people."

The Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel (the biggest Georgia paper):

"The whole movement for secession, and the formation of a new Government, so far at least as Georgia is concerned" (and Georgia has the largest population of all the slave states), "proceed on only a *quasi consent* of the people, and was pushed through, under circumstances of great excitement and frenzy—*by a fictitious majority*. With all the appliances brought to bear, etc., the election of the 4th of January showed a falling-off of nearly 3,000, and an absolute majority of elected deputies of 79. But, upon assembling, by wheedling, coaxing, *buying* and all the arts of deception, the Convention showed a majority of 31" (against Union) ... "The Georgia Convention and the Confederate Congress have gone forward in their work, as none can deny, without authority from the people."

Alabama. The Mobile Advertiser:

"The Convention has adopted the permanent Constitution in behalf of the State of Alabama.... The great fact stands forth that the delegates were not chosen for any such purpose."

The North Alabamian:

"The Convention made haste to usurp the prerogative, and ratify the Constitution.... It is a remarkable fact, that the substantial, physical force of the country, the hard-fisted, hard-working men, expected to do all the fighting when the country calls, were from the beginning opposed to the *Ordinance of Secession*."

Mississippi. Similar complaints about usurpation in the *Jackson Mississippian* and the *Vicksburg Whig*.

Louisiana. New Orleans True Delta:

"Here secession succeeded only by suppressing the election returns ... the government has been changed into *despotism*."

In the *State Convention* of Louisiana (New Orleans) of March 22, 1861, old *Roselius* (one of the leading politicians in the United States) says:

"The Montgomery instrument* ... did not inaugurate a government of the people, but an *odious and unmitigated oligarchy*. The people had not been permitted to act in the matter."

In *Louisville*, Kentucky, on March 16, 1861, Senator *Guthrie* (pro-slavery man, Secretary of the Treasury under Pierce) said the whole movement was a "plot" and "usurpation". Amongst other things:

"In Alabama a majority of the popular vote was cast against going out, but a small majority of the delegates were for secession, they took Alabama out, and refused the people to have any voice in the matter. The vote of Louisiana, too, was against secession, but the delegates suppressed it", etc.

Yours
K. M.

* MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 3, 1862

...I should be glad if you would supply me *this week* (by Friday morning) with an *English* article on the American War. You can write

* The Constitution adopted at Montgomery.—*Ed.*

entirely without constraint. The *Tribune* will print it as a letter of a foreign officer. *Nota bene:* the *Tribune* hates McClellan, who is in league with the Democratic Party and who, so long as he was Commander-in-Chief of all the armies, prevented any action not only on the Potomac (where this was perhaps justified), but in all theatres of war, particularly in the West, by *direct intervention*. (He was also the soul of the extremely disgraceful intrigue against Frémont.¹³³) This Mac, moreover, out of *esprit de corps* and hatred of the civilians, protected all the traitors in the army, e.g., Colonel Maynard and General Stone. The arrest of the latter took place a day or two after [Mc] Clellan had been dismissed as Commander-in-Chief of the whole army. In the same way the shameless Washington "representative" of the *New York Herald** was arrested as a spy contrary to McClellan's wishes and after he had treated McClellan's entire staff the day before to a champagne breakfast....

* ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, March 5, 1862

...You will get the article. The braggarts in the South are now getting a glorious beating. The most gratifying is the reception that the gunboats on the Tennessee River have had everywhere as far as Florence, Alabama (here begin the mussel shoals which interrupt navigation). So even in west Tennessee, on the plain, a decisive majority for the Union. Fifteen thousand prisoners, among them the Confederates' best general, Johnston, who decided Bull Run by his rapid concentration in the centre, is no joke.¹³⁴...

* MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 6, 1862

...That the Southerners will have concluded peace by July 1862 does not appear to me very probable. When the Northerners have secured (1) the border states—and they have actually been the matter at issue since

* Malcolm Ives. —*Ed.*

the beginning—and (2) the Mississippi to New Orleans and Texas, a second period of the war will presumably begin, into which the Northerners will not put great military effort, but by quarantining the Gulf states will finally drive them to voluntary re-annexation....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, May 5, 1862

...About America:

1. Battle of Corinth.¹³⁵ Ranks with all the big, well-fought modern battles where the contending forces were fairly equal: Eylau, Wagram, Lützen, Bautzen (here the French were admittedly much stronger, but without cavalry and therefore powerless to pursue), Borodino, Magenta and Solferino. The battle burns slowly, as Clausewitz says, like damp powder, exhausts both parties and at the finish the *positive* advantages gained by the victorious side are more of a moral than a material nature.¹³⁶ At any rate, the momentary advantage which Beauregard obtained on the Sunday was far more intensive and greater than that which Grant and Buell obtained on the Monday. The bulk of the trophies remained with the Confederates, despite the fact that they were finally beaten, that is, forced to abandon their attack and to withdraw. So much for the tactical aspect. The strategical aspect, however, is this:

Beauregard had concentrated all the troops that he could get in order, where possible, to fall on the advancing Federal divisions separately. This miscarried; the troops of Grant, Buell and Wallace were sufficient to repel him. If they had lost the battle, the Federals would have lost Tennessee; now they have held it. Beauregard has only his entrenchments at Corinth to thank for not having been obliged to go further south immediately. Whether these entrenchments are capable of safeguarding him against attack by Halleck (who has now assumed command), we are not in a position to know. Just as little is the report to be trusted that he has received colossal reinforcements from Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. If this is partly the case, then they are merely recruits, who are more in his way than of use to him. On the other hand, at Pittsburg Landing the forces were so nearly in equilibrium that *without reinforcements* Halleck likewise will not lightly undertake the storming of an entrenched camp or any other big offensive enterprise. We do not know what other troops, apart from those engaged at Pittsburg Landing, the Federals have in Tennessee or

Kentucky; it is therefore hard to say how the chances stand. Meanwhile the Unionists have cut the railway line from Memphis to Chattanooga (*id est*, to Richmond, Charleston and Savannah) both west and east of Corinth. Beauregard is hereby restricted to one railway line (to Mobile and New Orleans) and it is questionable whether he will be able to supply his troops for long in Corinth.

2. Virginia. The hero McClellan is in a dead fix. I think he will bury his false glory here. He has had another division transferred from McDowell to himself, but it will avail little. Only the ironclads can save him, another of which (*the Galena*) has left for Monroe. On this subject see today's *Morning Star* American correspondence, very interesting for Austria. From this you will also see why recently the *Monitor* calmly remained moored when the *Merrimac*, *Yorktown*, etc., seized the three transports. By sweeping the rivers right and left, and by flank and rear fire, these ships could save the ass or traitor* once more, just as the gunboats at Pittsburg Landing saved Sherman (who only had young troops that had never been under fire).

3. Mountain Department. Frémont is still in Wheeling, and consequently the mountainous part of south Virginia, as well as east Tennessee, is still in the hands of the enemy. Well then, *the best Union districts of all!* Why that is so is not explicable. In any case, the Confederate regiment recruited at the beginning of April in Knoxville, Tennessee, will doubtless desert at the first shot....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, May 12, 1862

...What puzzles me about the Yankees in regard to any success is not the military position in itself. This is only the result of the slackness and obtuseness that are in evidence throughout the North. Where is there revolutionary energy anywhere among the people? They let themselves get a beating and are quite proud of the lickings they receive. Where throughout the North is there even a single symptom that the people are in earnest about anything? I have never come across anything like it, even in Germany in the worst times. The Yankees, on the contrary, seem to find pleasure in advance at the thought that they will cheat their state creditors....

* McClellan.—Ed.

**ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, May 23, 1862

...McClellan continues in his well-known manner. The Confederates always escape him because he never goes straight for them, his excuse being that they are a good deal stronger than he. For that reason they of course always run away. Never yet has a war been waged in such a fashion, and for this he moreover gets a vote of thanks. However these small, unlucky rearguard engagements and the continual desertions are still sufficient to demoralise the Confederates badly, and when it comes to the decisive battle, that will tell.

The capture of New Orleans is a daring feat on the part of the fleet. The passage of the forts was altogether excellent. After this *everything* was simple. The moral effect on the Confederates was evidently enormous, and the material effect will have already made itself felt. Beauregard has now *nothing* more to defend in Corinth; the position had any meaning only so long as it covered Mississippi and Louisiana, and especially New Orleans. Beauregard has now been put strategically in such a position that the loss of a *single* battle leaves him no other choice than to disband his army into guerrilla groups; for without a large town in the rear of his army, with large railway facilities and ample resources, he *cannot* hold masses of men together.

If the Confederate army in Virginia is beaten, it must, after the previous demoralising affairs, soon dissolve of itself into guerrillas. It has, true enough, better chances, because the many streams on its line of retreat flow crosswise from the mountains to the sea, and because it is confronted by this donkey McClellan; nevertheless, in the nature of things, it will be driven either to accept a decisive battle or to break up into bands *without* a battle. Just as the Russians had to fight at Smolensk and Borodino, though *against* the will of the generals who judged the situation correctly.

Should Beauregard or the Virginia army win a battle, and be it ever so big, this can avail little. The Confederates are not in a position to make the least use of it. They cannot advance twenty English miles without getting stuck and must consequently await a renewed attack. They lack everything. Incidentally, I consider such an outcome to be quite impossible without direct treachery.

On a single battle, then, now hangs the fate of the Confederate armies; it still remains to examine the chances of guerrilla warfare. It is most amazing that the population participated so little—or, rather not at all—in this war. After all in 1813, the lines of communication of the

French were continually interrupted and harassed by Colomb, Lützow, Chernyshev and a score of other insurgents and Cossack leaders; in 1812 the population in Russia disappeared completely from the French line of march; in 1814 the French peasants armed themselves and killed patrols and stragglers of the Allies. But here nothing happens at all. People resign themselves to *the fate of the big battles* and console themselves with the thought that "*victrix causa diis*,"* etc. The boasting of war to the hilt has dissolved into mere muck. And guerrillas are supposed to move on such terrain? I certainly expect that after the definite dissolution of the armies the "white trash" of the South will attempt something of the sort, but I am too firmly convinced of the bourgeois nature of the planters to doubt for a moment that this will make them rabid Union men forthwith. Just let the former try to engage in brigandage, and the planters will everywhere receive the Yankees with open arms. The bonfires along the Mississippi are due exclusively to the two Kentuckians who are said to have come to Louisville—certainly not *on* the Mississippi. The conflagration in New Orleans was easily organised and will be repeated in other towns; surely much else will be burnt. But this business must necessarily bring the split between the planters and businessmen on one side and the white trash on the other to a head and therewith secession is gone to blazes.

The fanaticism of the New Orleans businessmen for the Confederacy is simply explained by the fact that the fellows have had to take a huge quantity of Confederate scrip for hard cash. I know several instances of this here. This must not be forgotten. A good forced loan is an excellent means of fettering the bourgeois to the revolution and diverting them from their class interests through their personal interests....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
Moscow, 1975, pp. 117-19

***) MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] May 27, 1862

...The blowing up of the *Merrimac* seems to me an evident act of cowardice on the part of the Confederacy swine.¹³⁷ The curs could still take some risk. It is delightful how *The Times* (which supported all

* "The cause of the victor pleased the gods" (Lucian, *Pharsalia*).—Ed.

the Coercion Bills against Ireland with so much fiery zeal) wails that "liberty" must be lost in the event of the North tyrannising the South.¹³⁸ *The Economist* is also good. It declares in its latest issue that the Yankees' financial luck—the non-depreciation of their paper money—is *incomprehensible* to it (although the matter is perfectly simple). It had hitherto consoled its readers from week to week with this depreciation. Although it admits that it understands nothing about what is its own business and has misled its readers in this respect, it at present consoles them with gloomy reflexions about the "military operations", of which it officially knows nothing.¹³⁹

What extraordinarily facilitated the paper operations of the Yankees (the main point being the confidence placed in their cause and therewith in their government) was without question the circumstance that in consequence of secession the West was almost denuded of paper money and therefore of a circulating medium generally. All the banks, whose principal securities consisted of bonds of slave states, went bankrupt. Moreover, currency to the tune of millions, which circulated in the West in the form of actual banknotes of the Southern banks, was swept away. Then, in consequence partly of the Morrill tariff,¹⁴⁰ partly of the war itself, which largely put an end to the import of luxuries, the Yankees had a balance of trade and therefore a rate of exchange favourable to themselves and against Europe the whole time. An unfavourable rate of exchange might have adversely affected the patriotic confidence in their paper on the part of the philistines.

For the rest—this comical concern of John Bull for the interest on the national debt that Uncle Sam will have to pay! As if it were not a mere bagatelle in comparison with Bull's national debt; moreover the United States is unquestionably richer today than were the Bulls with their debt of a thousand million in 1815....

*) ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 4, 1862

...At last, then, we learn from Anneke's letter that, counting Pope's and Mitchell's forces, Halleck had rather more than 100,000 men and 300 guns on April 26, and that he was waiting for the arrival of Curtis and Sigel with further reinforcements. Up to April 29 the condition of the army seems to have been passable on the whole; A[nn]eke says nothing about sickness. Accordingly, I consider the talk of sickness to be sheer invention. For the rest, it must be said that Stanton and

Halleck know how to make the press and the public mistrustful; it is surely easy enough to have with each army a correspondent who is told by the general what he is to write so that the public may get news of some sort. Presumably, then, the big battle will be fought as soon as Sigel and Curtis are on the spot. Spence's calculations that 120,000 men are necessary to keep the border states in order, are ludicrous¹⁴¹; there seems to be hardly a single man stationed in Kentucky (outside training camps perhaps at Louisville for recruits, out of whom, however, Sigel's corps will presumably be formed) and, according to Anneke, there were only convalescents, etc., in Nashville; otherwise, besides the armies of Halleck and McClellan, in the border states there are only Frémont (who, it seems, still has no army at all), Banks (who must be very weak) and McDowell, and all of these count as part of the *active* army. On the other hand, Spence is wrong as far as the other side is concerned: 1. At the moment the armies of the Federals certainly do not number 500,000 men in all; 2. They have surely more than 90,000 men distributed along the coast. My calculation is something like this:

On the coast	100,000 men
Banks and Frémont	30,000 "
Sigel and Curtis	30,000 "
McClellan	80,000 "
At Washington	30,000 "
McDowell	30,000 "
Halleck	100,000 "

altogether, therefore, 400,000 men in the field, to whom I add about 60,000 recruits, convalescents and small detachments that may be distributed in Missouri, along both banks of the lower Ohio and Tennessee, and partly in the towns of the North-east. *Summa summarum*, 460,000 men. I am supported in this by the new levy of 50,000 men, which will presumably be followed very soon by a second of equal strength; the intention seems to be to maintain the army at the normal strength of 500,000 men.

It was Stanton's biggest blunder and sheer vainglory to stop recruiting. Materially, this has done much harm and is to blame for all the loss of time at Corinth and Richmond; and morally, this present countermand does much more harm still—apart from the fact that it will be much harder to obtain recruits now. Otherwise, there are enough men available; as a result of immigration the Northern states must have at least three to four per cent more people from 20 to 35 years of age than any other country....

*ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, July 30, 1862

...Things are going wrong in America, and after all it is Mr. Stanton who is chiefly to blame because after the conquest of Tennessee he stopped recruiting out of sheer vainglory and so condemned the army to constant weakening just when it stood most in need of reinforcements for a rapid, decisive offensive. With a steady flow of recruits, even if the war were not decided by now, its success would nevertheless be beyond doubt. Given continual victories recruiting would also be brisk. This step was all the sillier as the South was then enlisting all men from 18 to 35 years of age, and was therefore staking everything on a single card. It is those men who have meanwhile acquired practice that now give the Confederates the upper hand everywhere and secure the initiative for them. They held Halleck fast, dislodged Curtis from Arkansas, smote McClellan and under Jackson in the Shenandoah valley gave the signal for the guerrilla raids which now penetrate as far as the Ohio. No one could have acted more stupidly than Stanton.¹⁴²

Further. When Stanton saw that he could not dislodge McClellan from the command of the Potomac army, he perpetrated the stupidity of weakening him by conferring special commands on Frémont, Banks and McDowell *and of splitting up the forces to the end of removing McClellan*. The consequence of this is, not only that McC[lellan] has been beaten, but also that public opinion now maintains that not McC[lellan], but Stanton is to blame for the defeat. Serves Mr. Stant[on] right.

All this would be of no consequence, it might even be of service, should the war at last be waged in a revolutionary way. But that's the trouble. The defeats do not goad these Yankees on; they make them slack. If it has reached the point when, merely to obtain recruits, they declare themselves prepared to take them *for nine months only*, it means nothing but: we've had it, and all we want is a semblance of an army as a means of making a demonstration during the peace negotiations. Those 300,000 volunteers were the criterion, and by refusing to provide them the North declare that to them the whole cause, *au fond*, is shit. Besides, what cowardice in government and Congress. They are afraid of conscription, of resolute financial steps, of attacks on slavery, of everything that is urgently necessary; they let everything dawdle along as it will, and if some semblance of a measure finally gets through Congress, the honourable Lincoln so hedges it with provisos that nothing is left of it. This slackness, this collapsing like a punctured pig's

bladder, under the pressure of defeats that have annihilated an army, the strongest and best, and actually left Washington exposed, this total absence of any elasticity in the whole mass of the people—this proves to me that it is all up. The few mass meetings, etc., do not mean anything; they don't attain even the excitement of a presidential election.

And with this, the total lack of talent. One general more stupid than the other. Not a single one capable of the slightest initiative or an independent decision. For three months the initiative has been once more wholly with the adversary. Then, one financial measure more lunatic than the other. Helplessness and cowardice everywhere, save among the common soldiers. And the politicians the same—just as absurd and clueless. And the populus is more helpless than if it had lain three thousand years under the Austrian scepter.

For the South, on the contrary—it's no use shutting one's eyes to the fact—it's a matter of bloody earnest. That we get no cotton is already one proof. The guerrillas in the border states are a second. But that after being thus cut off from the world, an agricultural people can sustain such a war and after severe defeats and losses in resources, men and territory, can nevertheless now stand up as the victor and threaten to carry its offensive right into the North, this is in my opinion decisive. And what is more, they fight quite splendidly, and with the second occupation of Kentucky and Tennessee, what Union feeling still existed there outside the highlands is now surely lost.

If they get Missouri, they get the Territories,¹⁴³ too, and then the North can pack up.

As I was saying, if the North does not at once act in a revolutionary fashion, it will get hell of a hiding and deserve it—and that's the way it looks....

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

London, August 7 [1862]

...I do not entirely share your views on the American Civil War.* I do not think that all is up. The Northerners have been dominated from the first by the representatives of the border slave states, who pushed McClellan, that old partisan of Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the other hand, acted with one accord from the beginning. The North itself has turned slavery into a military force of the South, instead of

* See previous letter.—Ed.

turning it against the South. The South leaves productive labour to the slaves and could thus without difficulty put its whole fighting strength in the field. The South had unified military leadership, the North had not. That no strategic plan existed was already obvious from all manoeuvres of the Kentucky army after the conquest of Tennessee. In my opinion all this will take another turn. The North will finally make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves.

The difficulty of getting the 300,000 men seems to me purely political. The North-west and New England intend, and will be able, to force the government to give up the diplomatic method of conducting war which it has used hitherto, and they are now fixing the terms on which the 300,000 men shall come forth. If Lincoln does not give way (but he will) there will be a revolution.

As to the lack of military talent, the method which has prevailed up till now of selecting generals purely from considerations of diplomacy and party intrigue is scarcely designed to bring talent to the front. General Pope however seems to me to be a man of energy.

With regard to the financial measures, they are clumsy, as they are bound to be in a country where up to now taxes (for the state as a whole) have in fact not existed; but they are not nearly so idiotic as the measures taken by Pitt and Co.¹⁴⁴ The present depreciation of money is to be ascribed, I believe, not to economic but to purely political reasons—distrust. It will therefore change with a different policy.

The long and the short of the story seems to me to be that a war of this kind must be conducted on revolutionary lines, while the Yankees have so far been trying to conduct it on constitutional lines...¹⁴⁵

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 124-25

*)ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, September 9, 1862

...The Bull Run affair, No. II, was a capital bit of work by Stonewall Jackson, who is by far the best chap in America. Had he been supported by a frontal attack of the main Confederate army and had everything gone well (even only half-way), then it would probably have been

all up with Monsieur Pope.¹⁴⁶ As it is, however, the affair has led to nothing save that the Confederates have gained a great moral advantage—respect for their enterprising spirit and for Jackson—and a few square miles of territory, but have, on the other hand, hastened the forming up and concentration of the *whole Federal army* before Washington. We shall now, presumably, get further news by the next steamer of fresh encounters in which the Federals might well be victorious if their generals were not so bloody stupid. But what can one do with such cur-people! Pope is the lousiest of the lot; he can only brag, revoke, lie and conceal reverses. Truly, the wiseacre of the general staff. McClellan now appears to one to be again an altogether sensible man. And then, the order that all future major-generals are to pass the examination for Prussian ensigns.¹⁴⁷ It is too pitiable, and the fellows in the South, who at least know what they want, strike me as heroes in comparison with the flabby management of the North. Or do you still believe that the gentlemen in the North will crush the "rebellion"?...

*)MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] September 10 [1862]

...As regards the Yankees, I am assuredly still of my previous opinion that the North will finally prevail*; certainly the Civil War may go through all sorts of episodes, even armistices, perhaps, and be long drawn out. The South would and could only conclude peace on condition that it received the border slave states. In this event California would also fall to it; the North-west would follow, and the entire Federation, with perhaps the exception of the New England states, would form a *single* country once more, this time under the acknowledged supremacy of the slaveholders. It would be the reconstruction of the United States on the basis demanded by the South. This, however, is impossible and will not happen.

The North can, for its part, only conclude peace if the Confederacy is restricted to the old slave states and those confined between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic. In this case the Confederacy would soon come to its blessed end. Intervening armistices, etc., on the basis of a *status quo*, could at most lead to pauses in the prosecution of the war.

The manner in which the North wages war is only to be expected

* See pp. 188-89 and 190 of this book.—Ed.

from a *bourgeois* republic in which fraud has so long reigned supreme. The South, an oligarchy, is better adapted thereto, that is to say an oligarchy in which the whole of productive labour falls to the lot of the Negroes and the four millions of "white trash" are filibusters by profession. All the same, I would wager my head that these boys come off second best, despite "Stonewall Jackson". Of course, it may yet come to a sort of revolution in the North itself first....

***)MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] October 29, 1862

...As for America, I believe that the Maryland campaign was decisive¹⁴⁸ insofar as it showed that, even in this part of the border states most sympathetic to the South, support for the Confederates is weak. But the whole struggle turns on the border states. Whoever gets them is master of the Union. The fact that Lincoln issued the prospective Emancipation Act at the moment when the Confederates were pressing forward in Kentucky, shows at the same time that all consideration for the loyal slaveholders in the border states has ceased.¹⁴⁹ The emigration of the slave-owners from Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee to the South, with their black chattel, is already enormous, and if the struggle goes on for a while, as it surely will, the South will have lost all hold there. It began the war for the Territories.¹⁵⁰ The war itself was the means of destroying its power in the border states, where, apart from this, the ties with the South were becoming weaker every day because a market can no longer be found for the breeding of slaves and the internal slave trade. In my opinion, therefore, for the South it will now only be a matter of the defensive. But its sole possibility of success lay in an offensive. If there is confirmation of the report that Hooker is getting the active command of the Potomac army, that McClellan is being "retired" to the "theoretical" post of Commander-in-Chief and that Halleck is taking over the supreme command in the West, then the conduct of the war in Virginia may also take on a more energetic character. Moreover the most favourable time of year for the Confederates has now gone.

Morally the collapse of the Maryland campaign was of the most tremendous importance.

As to finance, the United States knows from the time of the War of Independence, and we know from observation in Austria, how far one can go with depreciated paper money.¹⁵¹ It is a fact that the Yankees

never exported more corn to England than they have this year, that the present harvest is again far above the average and that the trade balance has never been more favourable for them than for the last two years. As soon as the new system of taxation (admittedly a very absurd and Pitt-ish one¹⁵²) comes into operation, there will at last be a *reflux* of the paper money which up to now has only been continually *issued*. An extension of the paper issue on the present scale will therefore become superfluous and further depreciation will thus be checked. What had made even the depreciation observed up to now less dangerous than was the case in France, and even in Britain, in similar circumstances, is the fact that the Yankees never prohibited *two prices*, a gold price and a paper price. The actual evil of the matter resolves itself into a state debt for which the proper equivalent has never been received and a premium for jobbing and speculation.¹⁵³

When the English boast that their depreciation was never more than 11 1/2 per cent (according to others it amounted to more than double this during some time), they conveniently forget that they not only continued to pay the old taxes but every year paid new ones as well, so that the reflux of the banknotes was assured in advance, whereas the Yankees have actually carried on the war for a year and a half *without taxes* (except for the greatly diminished import duties), merely by repeated issue of paper. With a process of this kind, which has now reached its turning point, the depreciation is in fact still comparatively small.

The fury with which the Southerners have received Lincoln's Acts proves their importance.¹⁵⁴ All Lincoln's Acts have the appearance of mean hedging provisos which one lawyer puts to his opposing lawyer. But this does not detract from their historic content, and indeed it amuses me when I compare them with the drapery in which the Frenchman wraps even the most insignificant point.

Of course, like other people, I see the repulsive side of the form the movement takes among the Yankees; but I find the explanation of it in the nature of "*bourgeois*" democracy. The events over there are nevertheless an upheaval of world significance, and there is nothing more disgusting in the whole business than the British attitude towards them.

**ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, November 5, 1862

...As regards America I certainly also think that the Confederates in Maryland have received an unexpected moral blow of great significance.

I am moreover convinced that the *definite* possession of the border states will decide the result of the war. But I am by no means certain that the affair is going to proceed along such classic lines as you appear to believe. Despite all the screams of the Yankees, there is still no sign whatever that the people regard this business as a real question of national existence. On the contrary, these election victories of the Democrats go to prove rather that the section which is tired of the war is growing.¹⁵⁵ If there were only some evidence or some indication that the masses in the North are beginning to rise as they did in France in 1792 and 1793, then it would all be very fine. But the only revolution to be expected seems rather to be a democratic counter-revolution and a rotten peace, including the partition of the border states. That this would not be the end of the affair by a long way—granted. But for the moment it would be the end. I must say I cannot work up any enthusiasm for a nation which on such a colossal issue allows itself to be continually beaten by a fourth of its own population, and which after eighteen months of war has achieved nothing more than the discovery that all its generals are asses and all its officials rascals and traitors. After all the thing must happen differently, even in a bourgeois republic, if it is not to end in utter failure. I entirely agree with what you say about the meanness of the English way of looking at the business....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 126-27

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, November 15, 1862

...I am impatiently waiting for the steamer that will bring the news of the New York elections.* If the Democrats win in the State of New York I do not know any more what I am to think of the Yankees. How a nation put in a great historical dilemma, and when at the same time its very existence is at stake, can, after eighteen months of fighting, become reactionary in its mass and vote for meekly climbing down is a bit beyond my understanding. Good as it is, from one angle, that the bourgeois republic thoroughly discredits itself also in America, so that

* See p. 196 of this book.—Ed.

in future it can never again be preached on its own merits but only as a means and form of transition to social revolution, still it is exasperating that a lousy oligarchy with only half the number of inhabitants should prove just as strong as the unwieldy, great, helpless democracy. At any rate, if the Democrats win, the worthy McClellan and the West Pointers¹⁵⁶ will very nicely gain the upper hand and the whole show will soon come to an end. The fellows are capable of making peace if the South should return to the Union on condition that the President shall always be a Southerner and Congress shall always consist of an equal number of Southerners and of Northerners. They are even capable of proclaiming Jefferson Davis forthwith President of the United States and of sacrificing all the border states, if there is no other way to peace. Then good-bye America.

Of Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation* one likewise sees no effect up to the present except that the North-west has voted Democratic for fear of an inundation of Negroes....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 127

* MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 17 [1862]

...It seems to me that you are looking too much at one aspect only of the American fracas. I have looked through a mass of Southern papers in the American coffee-house and have seen from them that the Confederacy is in a tight corner. The English newspapers have suppressed the battle of "Corinth".¹⁵⁷ The Southern papers describe it as the most extraordinary bad luck that has befallen them since the armed rising. The State of *Georgia* has declared the Confederate "Conscription Act" to be null and void. In the person of Floyd the thief, *Virginia* has disputed the right of the "*creatures* (literally) of Jefferson Davis" to continue to levy troops in this state. Oldham, representative of *Texas* in the Congress at Richmond, has lodged a protest against the transportation of the "picked troops" of the South-west to the East, that is, *Virginia*. All these disputes quite undoubtedly demonstrate two things:

* See p. 193 of this book.—Ed.

That the Confederate government has overreached itself in its tremendous efforts to reinforce the ranks of the army;

That the states are asserting their "state rights" against the separatist Confederacy, just as the latter used them as a pretext for its actions against the Union.¹⁵⁸

I regard the victories of the Democrats in the North* as a reaction, which was made easy for this conservative and blackleg element by the Federal government's bad conduct of the war and their financial blunders. It is moreover a kind of reaction which occurs in every revolutionary movement and which at the time of the Convention, for instance, was so strong that the wish to submit the passing of the death sentence on the King** to *suffrage universel**** was regarded as counter-revolutionary, and under the Directory it was so strong that M. Bonaparte I had to bombard Paris.¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, the elections will not affect the composition of Congress before December 4, 1863****; they serve, therefore, merely as a stimulus to the Republican government, over whose head the sword hangs.¹⁶⁰ And at any rate the Republican House of Representatives will make better use of its limited span of life if only out of hatred for the opposing party.

As to McClellan, he has in his own army Hooker and other Republicans, who are always prepared to arrest him on the order of the government.

In addition, the French attempt at intervention¹⁶¹ will call forth a reaction against reaction....

*) ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, December 30, 1862
252, Hyde Road

...Burnside's defeat is being frightfully exaggerated.¹⁶² It is clear that it must affect the morale of the army, but not so seriously by a long way as if it had been beaten in the open field. The tactical arrangements seem to have been very bad. Manifestly the flank attack of the left wing ought first to have been developed before the frontal attack

* See pp. 194-95 of this book.—Ed.

** Louis XVI.—Ed.

*** Universal suffrage.—Ed.

**** In the original: 1864, evidently a slip of the pen.—Ed.

under Sumner took place. But this was let slip altogether. Sumner seems to have been in a thorough mess before Franklin even came to serious fighting. Then Burnside does not seem to have been able to come to any decision on the use of his reserves. The successes of the left wing should have prompted him to send at least part of them thither, since it was there that the decisive action had to take place; instead of this he employed them in front, and here also too late, namely, 1. as a *relief* and not as a support for Sumner's beaten troops, and 2. so shortly before dark that it was night before half of them came into action. These observations are naturally made on the basis of the poor materials the American papers provide and without knowledge of the terrain. It seems to me, though, that Burnside might well have dislodged the *canaille** completely by a flanking movement, especially as he seems to have had certainly 150,000 men against 100,000; but the belief that Washington can only remain covered as long as one takes up positions across the enemy's path evidently prevented him from doing this. The folly of giving the Confederates a month's time in which to consolidate in the position and then attacking them in front is, however, only to be criticised by a flogging....

*) MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] January 2, 1863

...Burnside seems to have committed great tactical blunders in the battle of Fredericksburg. He was obviously nervous in the employment of such great military forces. As far, however, as the fundamental asininity is concerned: 1. the 26 days' temporising is unquestionably direct treason at work in the war administration in Washington. Even the New York correspondent of *The Times*** admitted that only after weeks did Burnside obtain resources which had been promised him immediately; 2. that nevertheless he then made this attack, shows the man's moral weakness. The worthy *Tribune* began to cast suspicion on him and threatened him with dismissal. This paper, with its enthusiasm and its ignorance, does great harm.

The Democrats and McClellanists naturally cried out in unison, in order to exaggerate the misfortune. For the "rumour" that McClellan, "the Monk" of *The Times*, had been summoned to Washington, we are

* Scum or mob.—Ed.

** Probably Charles Mackay.—Ed.

indebted to Mr. Reuter.

"Politically" the defeat was good. The fellows should not have been victims of bad luck before January 1, 1863. Anything of the sort could have caused the "Proclamation" to be revoked.¹⁶³

The Times and its like are utterly furious over the workers' meetings in Manchester, Sheffield and London.¹⁶⁴ It is very good that the Yankees have their eyes opened in this way. By the way, Opdyke (Mayor of New York and political economist) has already said at a meeting in New York: "We know that the English working classes are with us, and that the governing classes of England are against us." ...

*)ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, February 17, 1863

...Things look rotten in Yankeeland. It is true that with the customary irony of world history the Democrats, as against the philistine, have now become the war party, and the bankrupt poetaster Ch. Mackay has again thoroughly compromised himself. I also hear from private sources in New York that the arming of the North is being continued on a scale hitherto unheard of. But, on the other hand, the signs of moral slackening are increasing daily and the inability to conquer is daily becoming greater. Where is the party whose victory and *avènement** would be synonymous with prosecution of the war *à outrance*** and by every means? The *people* has been bamboozled, that is the misfortune, and it is fortunate that a peace is a physical impossibility, otherwise they would have concluded one long ago, merely to be able to live for the almighty dollar again.

A Confederate major, who took part in the engagements near Richmond on Lee's staff, told me the other day that according to papers which Lee himself had shown him, the rebels had no less than 40,000 stragglers at the end of these actions! He referred specifically to the Western regiments of the Federals with great respect; for the rest, however, he is an ass....

* Coming to power.—*Ed.*

** To the bitter end.—*Ed.*

*)MARX TO ENGELS IN MANCHESTER

[London,] March 24, 1863

...What I consider very important in America's most recent history is that they will again give out *letters of marque*. *Quoad** England, this will put quite a different complexion on matters and under favourable circumstances may lead to war with England, so that the self-conceited Bull would see the corn as well as his cotton withdrawn from under his nose. At the beginning of the Civil War Seward had the cheek to *accept* on his own hook the decisions of the Paris Congress of 1856 as applicable to America *for the time being*. (This came out in the printing of the dispatches on the *Trent* affair.¹⁶⁵) The Washington Congress and Lincoln, furious at the outfitting of Southern pirates in Liverpool, etc., have now put an end to this joke. This has given rise to great dismay on the Stock Exchange here but the faithful hounds of the press naturally obey *ordres* and do not mention the matter in the newspapers....

*)ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, June 11, 1863

...There are nice goings on in America. Fighting Joe** with his bragging has made an awful fool of himself.¹⁶⁶ Rosecrans is asleep, and only Grant operates well. His movements against Vicksburg from south-west to north-east, cutting off the relief army, repulsing it, then rapid advance towards Vicksburg and even the impetuous, unavailing assaults, are all very good. I do not believe in the possibility of assembling sufficient relieving troops in time. On the other hand, we have so often seen the American generals suddenly operate well for a fortnight and then again behave in a most asinine manner, that one can say nothing at all about their future movements....

* As regards.—*Ed.*

** Hooker.—*Ed.*

***) MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] Thursday, May 26, 1864

...What do you say of Grant's operations? *The Times*, of course, has admiration only for Lee's strategy, concealed behind retreats.¹⁶⁷ "It," said Tussy* this morning, "considers this very canny, I dare say." I have no greater wish than that Butler may succeed. It would be priceless, if he marched into Richmond first. It would be bad if Grant had to retreat, but I think that fellow knows what he is about. At any rate, the credit for the first Kentucky campaign, Vicksburg and the beating that Bragg got in Tennessee, is his....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

[Manchester,] May 30, 1864

...Once more, the Virginian campaign bears the character of indecisiveness, or, more exactly, of the difficulty of forcing a decision at all on this terrain. I set no score by the news coming via Scotland; it merely signifies that the eight days' rain has saved Lee from the necessity of continually fighting battles *à la Solferino*.¹⁶⁸ And that is a great deal for him. Two more such battles and his army, which had been obliged to take up a new position further back every evening, would in any case have been in a very sorry state, hardly able to make a further stand anywhere *before* Richmond. Grant has certainly also gained by the standstill, but not in the same measure. The reinforcements that he now obtains will not be worth much. Still, I should not be surprised if Lee were to withdraw to Richmond soon. Then the decisive struggle will take place there....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, June 9, 1864

...I am very eager to know how things will go in Virginia. The forces still seem very closely balanced, and a trifling contingency, the possibili-

* Eleanor Marx.—Ed.

ty of smiting a single corps of Grant's separately, can again give Lee the advantage. The struggle before Richmond may be fought under quite different conditions; for Butler is certainly weaker than Beauregard, otherwise he would not have let himself be forced on the defensive, and even if the two are equally strong, Lee still becomes stronger by effecting a junction with Beaur[egard] in Richmond than Grant by one with Butler; for from his entrenched camp Lee can operate on either side of the James River in full strength, whereas Grant must detach troops (to the south side of the stream). I hope, however, that Grant will carry the thing through all the same; at any rate it is certain that since the first battle of the Wilderness¹⁶⁹ Lee has evinced little inclination to fight decisive actions in the open field, but has, on the contrary, kept his main force constantly in entrenched positions and only ventured brief offensive blows. I also like the methodical course of Grant's operations. For this terrain and this adversary, that is the only correct method....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, September 4, 1864
86, Mornington Street,
Stockport Road

...What do you think of things in America? Lee avails himself of his entrenched camp at Richmond in quite masterly fashion; no wonder it is already the third campaign centring on this place.¹⁷⁰ He pins down Grant's hosts with relatively few troops and employs the larger part of his men in offensive operations in West Virginia and in threatening Washington and Pennsylvania. An excellent example for the Prussians to study; they can learn from it in detail how a campaign for the entrenched camp of Coblenz must be conducted, but are naturally far too haughty to learn anything from these improvised generals. Grant—six years ago a lieutenant discharged from the army for drunkenness, subsequently a drunken engineer in St. Louis—has much unity of purpose and great contempt for the life of his cannon-fodder; he also seems to be very resourceful as a *small* strategist (that is, in one-day movements); but I seek in vain any sign that he has a broad enough outlook to survey the campaign as a whole. The campaign against Richmond seems to me to be miscarrying; the impatience with which G[rant] attacks now at one point, now at another, but nowhere advances perseveringly with sap and mine, is a bad sign. In general, engineering seems to be in a bad state among the Yankees; besides

theoretical knowledge it also requires a traditional practice, which is not so easily improvised.—Whether Sherman will finish off Atlanta is questionable; still, he has, I believe, better chances.¹⁷¹ The guerrilla and cavalry raids in his rear will scarcely do him much harm. The fall of Atlanta would be a very hard blow for the South; Rome would straightway fall with it and the South's gun foundries, etc., are situated there; in addition, the railway connection between Atlanta and South Carolina would be lost.—Farragut is unchanged. The fellow knows what he is doing. But whether Mobile itself will fall is very questionable. The town is very strongly fortified and, as far as I know, can only be taken from the landward side, since deep-draught ships cannot approach near enough. But what an imbecility is this dispersal of the attacking forces on the coast, where Charleston and Mobile are attacked simultaneously, instead of one after the other, but each time in full strength.

I don't set great store by the talk of peace that is becoming so widespread. Not even by Lincoln's alleged direct negotiations. I regard all this as an election manoeuvre. As things stand so far, Lincoln's re-election appears to me to be pretty certain.¹⁷²

***) MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] September 7, 1864

...As regards America, I consider the present moment, *entre nous*,^{*} to be very critical. If it brings Grant a great defeat or Sherman a great victory, then it's all right. A chronic series of small checks, precisely now at election time, would be dangerous. I am entirely of your opinion that so far Lincoln's re-election is pretty certain, *still a hundred to one*. But in the model country of the democratic swindle this election time is full of contingencies that may give the reason of events (an expression that Magnus Urquhart^{**} considers to be just as senseless as "the justice of locomotive") a quite unexpected smack in the face. An armistice seems to be very necessary for the South, to save it from complete exhaustion. It has been the first to utter this cry not only in its Northern organs, but directly in the Richmond organs, though now, when it has found an echo in New York, the *Richmond Examiner* throws it back to the Yankees with scorn. That Mr. Davis has decided to treat the Negro soldiers as "prisoners of war"—latest official instruc-

* Between us.—*Ed.*

** Great Urquhart.—*Ed.*

tion of his War Secretary^{*}—is very characteristic. Lincoln has at his command great resources with which to carry through the election. (Peace proposals on his part are naturally mere humbug!) The election of an opposition candidate would probably lead to a real *revolution*. But all the same one cannot fail to recognise that for the coming eight weeks, in which the issue will in the first instance be decided, much depends on military accident. This is absolutely the most critical point since the beginning of the war. If this is shifted, old Lincoln can then blunder on to his heart's content. Incidentally, the old man cannot possibly "make" generals. But he could choose his ministers better. The Confederate papers, however, attack their ministers quite as much as the Yankees do those at Washington. If Lincoln gets through this time—as is very probable—it will be on a much more radical platform and under wholly changed circumstances. True to his legal manner, the old man will then find more radical methods compatible with his conscience....

**ENGELS TO HERMANN ENGELS
IN BARMEN**

Manchester, November 2, 1864

...But Lincoln's re-election is as certain as anything is likely to be in America. It seems to me that the war will undoubtedly be continued until the South is completely subjugated, regardless of who the President is, but should McClellan be elected, there would be a period of uncertainty lasting at least six months, until people saw clearly what his policy was. But judging by the elections in the individual states this is out of the question.

The outcome of all this is, in my view, that the American war will continue, certainly till late next year, and end in marauding warfare carried on by bands from the South, similar to that in Naples two years ago.¹⁷³ In the course of this much cotton will undoubtedly be burned....

***) ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, November 9, 1864

...The affair at Richmond seems to be nearing the end. But as long as Lee is not compelled to confine himself to the pure defensive, and in

* James Alexander Seddon.—*Ed.*

particular to draw all the troops out of the Shenandoah Valley to his army, and as long as Richmond is not completely encircled, all Grant's advancing against the works of R[ichmond] or Petersburg means little. It is like at Sevastopol, where no encirclement occurred either—I wonder what Monsieur de Beauregard will do; probably no more than Hood before him, if as much. I haven't the slightest confidence in this puffed-up hero....

**ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMAYER
IN ST. LOUIS**

Manchester, November 24, 1864

...Your war over there is one of the most imposing experiences one can ever live through. Despite the numerous blunders committed by the Northern armies (and the South has committed its share), the conquering tide is slowly but surely rolling on, and the moment must certainly come in 1865 when the *organised* resistance of the South will fold up with a snap like a pocket knife, and the war will degenerate into banditry, as was the case in the Carlist War in Spain and, more recently, in Naples.¹⁷⁴ Since the establishment of powerful states such a people's war, on both sides, has never been waged; its outcome will doubtless determine the future course of America as a whole for hundreds of years. As soon as slavery—that greatest of obstacles to the political and social development of the United States—has been smashed, the country will experience a boom that will very soon assure it an altogether different place in the history of the world, and the army and navy created during the war will then soon find employment.

It was after all easy to see why the North found it hard to create an army and generals. From the start the Southern oligarchy had the country's small armed forces under its own control—it was this oligarchy that had supplied the officers and looted the arsenals into the bargain. The North had no ready military forces except the militia, while the South had been preparing for years. From the outset the South had a population accustomed to the saddle for use as light cavalry, while it was not available to the same extent in the North. The North adopted the method, introduced by the South, of allotting posts to adherents of a certain party; the South, engulfed in a revolution and under the rule of a military dictatorship, was able to disregard this. Hence all the blunders. I do not deny that Lee is a better general than any that the North has and that his latest campaigns around the fortified Richmond encampment are masterpieces, from which the

glorious Prince Friedrich Karl of Prussia could learn a great deal. But the determined attacks of Grant and Sherman have finally rendered all strategy useless. It is obvious that Grant is sacrificing an enormous number of men—but could he have acted otherwise? I do not know anything about the state of discipline in your army, its steadfastness under fire, its capacity and readiness to endure hardships, and, in particular, its morale, i.e., what can be demanded of it without demoralising it. One must know all that before venturing a judgment on this side of the ocean, without adequate information and without any decent maps. But it seems to me certain that the army now commanded by Sherman is the best of your armies, as superior to Hood's army as Lee's army is to Grant's.

Your Army rules and your elementary tactics are, I have heard, borrowed entirely from the French, so that the basic formation is probably the column, with intervals between the platoons. What sort of field artillery have you at present? If you could give me some information on these points I should be very grateful.

What happened to the great Anneke? I have not heard of him since he almost lost the battle of Pittsburg Landing because he hadn't been issued everything he was supposed to have according to the Prussian regulations. It seems that of the Germans who fought throughout the war, Willich has made the best showing; Sigel, on the other hand, has unmistakably demonstrated his mediocrity. And Schurz, the valiant Schurz the fast galloping along under a hail of bullets, what enemies is he annihilating now? ...

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 140-41

**MARX TO LION PHILIPS
IN ZALT-BOMMEL**

London, November 29, 1864
1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

...I received a letter from America a few days ago, sent by my friend Weydemeyer, Colonel of a regiment which is stationed in Saint Louis (Missouri). Among other things he writes literally:

"We are unfortunately kept here in Saint Louis because the great number of 'conservatives' here makes the constant presence of a military force necessary to prevent a break-out or any attempt to liberate the numerous Southerners

imprisoned here.... The whole campaign in Virginia is a blunder which has cost us hecatombs of men. But in spite of everything the South will not be able to hold out much longer. They have sent the last man to the front and have no fresh army at their disposal. This invasion of Missouri and the incursions in Tennessee are merely raids, plundering inroads. A permanent re-occupation of the lost districts is out of the question."¹⁷⁵

Dear uncle, if one bears in mind the fact that during Lincoln's election 3 1/2 years ago, it was merely a question of making *no more concessions* to the slave-owners, whereas now *abolition of slavery* is the avowed—and in part even realised—aim, one must admit that so gigantic a transformation has *never* proceeded at such a rapid pace. It will have a most salutary influence on the whole world.

ENGELS TO RUDOLF ENGELS IN BARMEN

[Manchester,] 10.1.65

My view of the American war is as follows: the South is gradually exhausting itself, and cannot replace its armies. The North has not even mobilised one half of its resources. The South is restricted to defensive operations, and in fact to such an extent that offensive counter-sallies, such as those undertaken by Longstreet in the Shenandoah Valley,¹⁷⁶ are now a thing of the past. Hood attempted another sally, but thereby immediately demonstrated his impotence, and clinched the fate of the whole campaign. The North is in every way superior to its enemy from the South and in addition has Sherman's 40,000 men at its disposal, who can march anywhere they like and destroy the forces, lines of communication, resources and stores of the South everywhere, even right in the centre of the South. After being surrounded on the land-side by Sherman, Charleston is bound to fall within 4-6 weeks. The South has now only one army, the one at Richmond. This army will certainly suffer a decisive defeat this year, and consequently no *military forces* will be available to defend the South. Guerrilla warfare, marauding, etc., may then ensue and is likely to continue till next year.

If the South should arm the Negroes, it would be to the advantage of the North. But they will take good care not to do that. Except perhaps at the last moment. For the Negroes are not stupid enough to be prepared to be killed for the sake of the whip that thrashes them....

*ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, February 7, 1865

...In America the opening of the campaign before Richmond in March-April will probably be decisive for the whole year.¹⁷⁷ Should Grant succeed in dislodging Lee from there, then the Confederacy is played out, its armies disperse and the bandit war, as it is already being carried on now in west Tennessee and in general almost everywhere, is the only enemy left. Lee's army is in reality already now the only one that the Southerners have; everything depends on its being broken up. We can already now assume that the territory from which Lee draws his resources is restricted to south Virginia, the Carolinas and, at most, a part of Georgia....

**) ENGELS TO JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER IN ST. LOUIS

Manchester, March 10, 1865

...Many thanks for the detailed answer to my questions.* I had lost the thread of the "combined" operations because of the careless war reporting in the local press. The Red River expedition remained entirely incomprehensible to me, and even Sherman's move eastward from Vicksburg was very obscure, as no one over here had written about the southern corps advancing from New Orleans. These combined operations, with a junction point not only within the range of the enemy but even behind his lines, indicate how primitive are the strategic notions of a people wholly inexperienced in military affairs. Nevertheless, if the noble Wrangel and Prince Friedrich Karl had not commanded forces twice as large as the enemy's in the war with Denmark,¹⁷⁸ they would have done exactly the same. The battle of Missunde¹⁷⁹ and the two incomprehensible "demonstrations" (to give some sort of name to a thing that has none) against Düppel¹⁸⁰ before the offensive were even more childish.

As for Grant's conduct before Richmond,¹⁸¹ I am seeking to explain it otherwise. I fully share your opinion that it would have been *strategically* correct to attack Richmond from the *west* only. But it

* See pp. 204-05 of this book.—Ed.

seems to me—insofar as one can judge at such a distance and without accurate information—that Grant chose the east for two reasons:

1. Because it was easier for him to secure supplies there. In the west the only railways he could use were the ones to Fredericksburg and Tennessee (both passing through regions exhausted by the war), while in the east he had the Fredericksburg railway, as well as the York and the James Rivers. Bearing in mind the difficulty of supplying large armies, which played so important a part throughout the war, I cannot condemn Grant unqualifiedly until I am clear on this point. You reproach him for having turned his back to the sea, but when you command the sea and possess secured embarkation points for troops (Monroe and Norfolk), that is an *advantage*. Compare Wellington's campaign in Spain and the Crimean campaign, during which the Allies, after their victory at the Alma, actually *fled*, in order to have the sea covering their rear south of Sevastopol. It is clear that possession of the Shenandoah Valley was the best guarantee of the security of Washington. But the question arises:

2. Did Grant (or Lincoln) *want* to have Washington entirely secure? It seems to me, on the contrary, that with the looseness of the Federal Constitution and the rather indifferent attitude of some regions in the North toward the war, Lincoln really never seriously wanted to drive the Confederates out of Richmond, but rather wanted to keep them in a position from which they threatened Washington, Pennsylvania, and even New York to some extent. I believe that otherwise he never would have got the recruits or the money to finish the war. I readily believe that Grant has very much wanted to capture Richmond for the past 3-4 months, but he hasn't been strong enough. I see his forces estimated at 70,000-90,000 men, and Lee's at 50,000-70,000. If this proportion is approximately correct, then he achieved the maximum possible in his offensive, which was known to be strategically incorrect, by wrestling from Lee any possibility of waging an offensive defence and by surrounding Richmond on at least three sides out of four. I do not think that Lee, after having distinguished himself among all the other Northern and Southern generals by his brilliant counter-offensives during the past two years, would now give up this method of waging war unless he were *compelled* to do so. On the other hand, the North has gained an extraordinary advantage in having been able to pin the South's best army down at Richmond, to one corner of the South's terrain because of a childish point of honour, until all the adjoining territory had been cut off and disorganised militarily for the Southerners as a result of the conquest of the Mississippi Valley and of Sherman's march,¹⁸² and until finally it was possible for all the Union's available troops to advance on Richmond to finish the business with one decisive blow. This, apparently, is now taking place.

The latest news received is dated February 25 from New York. It reports the capture of Charleston and Wilmington and Sherman's march from Columbia to Winnsboro. Obviously, Sherman is the only man in the North who is able to hammer victories out of his soldiers' feet. Incidentally he must have splendid young fellows under his command. I await the development of events with impatience. If Lee assesses his desperate situation correctly, there is nothing left for him but to break camp and move south. But where to? The only road *open* to him is the road to Lynchburg and Tennessee; but it would be very risky to enter the narrow mountain valley with a single rail line, fronted by the fortifications of Knoxville and Chattanooga. Moreover, this would most likely mean simply sacrificing the troops of Beauregard and Hardee, as well as the other Confederate forces in North Carolina, and exposing his flank to Sherman. Or debouching on Petersburg, overturning Grant's left flank, and moving directly south against Sherman? This is risky, but most advantageous, the only way of gathering around him the remnants of the fleeing armies, holding up Grant by destroying the rail lines and bridges, and falling upon Sherman with superior forces. If Sherman accepts battle with the joint forces against him, he will doubtless be defeated, while if he falls back to the coast, he opens Lee's road to Augusta, where the latter can give his army its first breathing spell. But in that event Sherman and Grant would certainly join forces, and Lee would again be faced with superior forces, and this time he would have to fight practically in the open field, as I do not believe the Confederates can again assemble enough fortress guns at any point within the country to organise a new Richmond. But even if they did so, they would avoid one trap only to fall into another. The last alternative is an invasion of the North. Jefferson Davis would be fully capable of this, but then everything would be over in a fortnight.

Lee might also send only part of his forces southward to stop Sherman, by joining forces with Beauregard and the others. It seems to me that this is most likely. In that event, Sherman will probably "give them a thrashing", as they say in Southern Germany, and then Lee would be really stuck. But even if Sherman should be defeated, Lee would have gained only one month's respite, and the troops advancing up from the coast on all sides—not to mention Grant's victories over the weakened Richmond army in the meanwhile—would soon make his position as bad as it had been before. One way or the other, the war is coming to an end, and I wait for every steamer with the greatest impatience, for exciting news reports are now raining down. The strategic speculations of the numerous Southern sympathisers over here are extremely funny: they all boil down to the maxim of the Polish-Palatinate General Sznayde, who, every time he ran away, said: "We are acting exactly like Kossuth."

I am very grateful for your explanations on the American military set-up—it is only through them that in many respects I got a clear picture of the war over there....

*** MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] May 1, 1865

...The *chivalry of the South* ends in a worthy manner. The assassination of Lincoln was moreover the greatest piece of folly that they could commit. Johnson is stern, inflexible, revengeful and as a former poor white has a deadly hatred of the oligarchy. He will treat these fellows with less consideration, and as a result of the assassination the temper of the North corresponds to his intentions....

***ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

Manchester, May 3, 1865

...At Richmond Grant has repeated exactly the battle of Jena—so far as the strategic design is concerned—and with the same result: capture of the whole enemy army. Save that he did not need to march so far to gather the fruits.

Now Johnston has also capitulated and thereby I have won my wager made two months ago: that on May 1 the Southerners would no longer have any army. Those who still offer resistance will be taken as brigands and rightly so. In any case, Johnson will insist on confiscation of the large landed property and thus make the pacification and reorganisation of the South a somewhat more acute matter. Lincoln would hardly have insisted on this.

The Southern sympathisers here comforted themselves for the hypocritical howl they had to raise because of the murder* by prophesying that in four weeks it would be: Grant I, Emperor of America. The asses made a walloping mistake there!

For the rest, the “Ighnesses” must surely feel frightfully angry that the murder of Lincoln has produced such a colossal effect throughout the world. None of them has yet had the honour....

* Of Lincoln.—Ed.

***MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] June 24, 1865

...Johnson's policy disquiets me. Ridiculous affectation of severity against individuals; up to the present extremely vacillating and weak in substance. The reaction has already begun in America and will soon be greatly strengthened, if the hitherto prevailing slackness does not quickly cease....

***ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

[Manchester,] July 15, 1865

...I, too, like Mr. Johnson's policy less and less. Hatred of Negroes comes out more and more violently, while as against the old lords of the South he lets all power go out of his hands. If things go on like this, in six months all the old villains of secession will be sitting in Congress at Washington. Without coloured suffrage nothing whatever can be done there, and J[ohnson] leaves it to the vanquished, the ex-slaveholders, to decide upon this matter. It is too absurd. However, one must certainly reckon with things developing differently from what the Barons imagine. The majority of them are totally ruined and will be glad to sell land to migrants and speculators from the North. These will come soon enough and change many things. The mean whites, I think, will gradually die out. With this stock there is nothing more to be done; what is left after two generations will merge with the migrants into an entirely different stock. The Negroes will probably become small squatters as in Jamaica. So that finally the oligarchy goes to pieces, but the process could now be brought to a speedy conclusion at once, whereas it is becoming long drawn out....

CAPITAL

A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production

From VOLUME I

...As in the 18th century, the American war of independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle-class, so in the 19th century, the American Civil War sounded it for the European working-class.

From "The Preface to the First German Edition"

Written on July 25, 1867

...But as soon as people, whose production still moves within the lower forms of slave-labour, corvée labour, &c., are drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalistic mode of production, the sale of their products for export becoming their principal interest, the civilised horrors of over-work are grafted on the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, &c. Hence the negro labour in the Southern States of the American Union preserved something of a patriarchal character, so long as production was chiefly directed to immediate local consumption. But in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the over-working of the negro and sometimes the using up of his life in 7 years of labour became a factor in a calculated and calculating system. It was no longer a question of obtaining from him a certain quantity of useful products. It was now a question of production of surplus-labour itself....

...Hence it is natural that the lengthening of the working-day, which capital, from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 17th century, tries to impose by State-measures on adult labourers, approximately coincides with the shortening of the working-day which, in the second half of the 19th century, has here and there been effected by the State to prevent the coining of children's blood into capital. That which to-day, e.g., in the State of Massachusetts, until recently the freest State of the North American Republic, has been proclaimed as the statutory limit of the labour of children under 12, was in England, even in the middle of the 17th century, the normal working-day of able-bodied

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artisans, robust labourers, athletic blacksmiths.*

...In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralysed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The General Congress of Labour at Baltimore¹⁸³ (August 16th, 1866) declared: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all States of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."** At the same time, the Congress of the International Working Men's Association at Geneva, on the proposition of the London General Council, resolved that "the limitation of the working-day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive ... the Congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working-day."

From "Chapter X. The Working-Day"

* "No child under 12 years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than 10 hours in one day," General Statutes of Massachusetts, 63, ch.12. (The various Statutes were passed between 1836 and 1858.) "Labour performed during a period of 10 hours on any day in all cotton, woollen, silk, paper, glass, and flax factories, or in manufactories of iron and brass, shall be considered a legal day's labour. And be it enacted, that hereafter no minor engaged in any factory shall be holden or required to work more than 10 hours in any day, or 60 hours in any week; and that hereafter no minor shall be admitted as a worker under the age of 10 years in any factory within this State." State of New Jersey. An Act to limit the hours of labour, &c., §1 and 2 (Law of 18th March, 1851.) "No minor who has attained the age of 12 years, and is under the age of 15 years, shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than 11 hours in any one day, nor before 5 o'clock in the morning, nor after 7.30 in the evening." ("Revised Statutes of the State of Rhode Island," &c., ch.139, §23, 1st July, 1857.)

** "We, the workers of Dunkirk, declare that the length of time of labour required under the present system is too great, and that, far from leaving the worker time for rest and education, it plunges him into a condition of servitude but little better than slavery. That is why we decide that 8 hours are enough for a working-day, and ought to be legally recognised as enough; why we call to our help that powerful lever, the press; ... and why we shall consider all those that refuse us this help as enemies of the reform of labour and of the rights of the labourer." (Resolution of the Working Men of Dunkirk, New York State, 1866.)

... there is not the least doubt that the rapid strides of cotton spinning, not only pushed on with tropical luxuriance the growth of cotton in the United States, and with it the African slave trade, but also made the breeding of slaves the chief business of the border slave-states. When, in 1790, the first census of slaves was taken in the United States, their number was 697,000; in 1861 it had nearly reached four millions.

From "Chapter XV. Machinery and Modern Industry"

...With the accumulation of rents in Ireland, the accumulation of the Irish in America keeps pace. The Irishman, banished by sheep and ox, reappears on the other side of the ocean as a Fenian,¹⁸⁴ and face to face with the old queen of the seas rises, threatening and more threatening, the young giant Republic.

From "Chapter XXV. The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation"

The treatment of the aborigines was, naturally, most frightful in plantation-colonies destined for export trade only, such as the West Indies, and in rich and well-populated countries, such as Mexico and India, that were given over to plunder. But even in the colonies properly so called, the Christian character of primitive accumulation did not belie itself. Those sober virtuosi of Protestantism, the Puritans of New England, in 1703, by decrees of their assembly set a premium of £40 on every Indian scalp and every captured red-skin; in 1720 a premium of £100 on every scalp; in 1744, after Massachusetts-Bay had proclaimed a certain tribe as rebels, the following prices: for a male scalp of 12 years and upwards £100 (new currency), for a male prisoner £105, for women and children prisoners £50, for scalps of women and children £50. Some decades later, the colonial system took its revenge on the descendants of the pious pilgrim fathers, who had grown seditious in the meantime. At English instigation and for English pay they were tomahawked by red-skins. The British Parliament proclaimed blood-hounds and scalping as "means that God and Nature had given into its hand."

Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the

earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage-workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world.

From "Chapter XXXI. Genesis of the Industrial Capitalist"

...On the one hand, the enormous and ceaseless stream of men, year after year driven upon America, leaves behind a stationary sediment in the east of the United States, the wave of immigration from Europe throwing men on the labour-market there more rapidly than the wave of emigration westwards can wash them away. On the other hand, the American Civil War brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, &c., in brief, the most rapid centralisation of capital. The great republic has, therefore, ceased to be the promised land for emigrant labourers. Capitalistic production advances there with giant strides, even though the lowering of wages and the dependence of the wage-worker are yet far from being brought down to the normal European level. The shameless lavishing of uncultivated colonial land on aristocrats and capitalists by the Government, so loudly denounced even by Wakefield, has produced, especially in Australia,* in conjunction with the stream of men that the gold-diggings attract, and with the competition that the importation of English commodities causes even to the smallest artisan, an ample "relative surplus labouring population," so that almost every mail brings the Job's news of a "glut of the Australian labour-market," and prostitution in some places there flourishes as wantonly as in the London Heymarket.

However, we are not concerned here with the condition of the colonies. The only thing that interests us is the secret discovered in the new world by the Political Economy of the old world, and proclaimed on the house-tops: that the capitalist mode of production and accumulation, and therefore capitalist private proper-

* As soon as Australia became her own law-giver, she passed, of course, laws favourable to the settlers, but the squandering of the land, already accomplished by the English Government, stands in the way. "The first and main object at which new Land Act of 1862 aims is to give increased facilities for the settlement of the people." ("The Land Law of Victoria," by the Hon. C. G. Duffy, Minister of Public Lands, 1862.)

ty, have for their fundamental condition the annihilation of self-earned private property; in other words, the expropriation of the labourer.

From "Chapter XXXIII. The Modern Theory of Colonisation"

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Published as a separate English edition in 1887

Published according to the English edition of 1887

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1974, pp. 20, 226-27, 258, 284-85, 418, 666, 705, 711, 723-24

From VOLUME II

...Even in the United States, after the conversion of the buffer territory between the wage-labour states of the North and the slavery states of the South into a slave-breeding region for the South, where the slave thrown on the market thus became himself an element of the annual reproduction, this did not suffice for a long time, so that the African slave trade was continued as long as possible to satisfy the market.

From "Chapter XX. Simple Reproduction"

Published as a separate German edition in 1885

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1974, p. 483

Since very few capitalists ever think of making calculations of this sort with reference to their own business, statistics is almost completely silent about the relation of the constant portion of the total social capital to its variable portion. Only the American census gives what is possible under modern conditions, namely the sum of wages paid in each line of business and the profits realised. Questionable as they may be, being based on the capitalist's own uncontrolled statements, they are nevertheless very valuable and the only records available to us on this subject. In Europe we are far too delicate to expect such revelations from our major capitalists.

From "Chapter IV. The Effect of the Turnover on the Rate of Profit"

...Land speculation, for instance, in the United States, is based solely on this reflection thrown by capital and labour on uncultivated land.

Secondly, progress in extending cultivated land generally takes place either toward inferior soil or on the various given types of soil in varying proportions, depending on the manner in which they are met. Extension on inferior soil is naturally never made voluntarily, but can only result from rising prices, assuming a capitalist mode of production, and can only result from necessity under any other mode of production. However, this is not absolutely so. Poor soil may be preferred to a relatively better soil on account of location, which is of decisive importance for every extension of cultivation in young countries; furthermore, even though the soil formation in a certain region may generally be classified as fertile, it may nevertheless consist of a motley confusion of better and worse soils, so that the inferior soil may have to be cultivated if only because it is found in the immediate vicinity of the superior soil. If inferior soil is surrounded by superior soil, then the latter gives it the advantage of location in comparison with more fertile soil which is not yet, or is about to become, part of the cultivated area.

Thus, the State of Michigan was one of the first Western States to become an exporter of grain. Yet its soil on the whole is poor. But its

proximity to the State of New York and its water-ways via the Lakes and Erie Canal initially gave it the advantage over the States endowed by Nature with more fertile soil, but situated farther to the West. The example of this State, as compared with the State of New York, also demonstrates the transition from superior to inferior soil. The soil of the State of New York, particularly its western part, is incomparably more fertile, especially for the cultivation of wheat. This fertile soil was transformed into infertile soil by rapacious methods of cultivation, and now the soil of Michigan appeared as the more fertile.

"In 1838, wheaten flour was shipped at Buffalo for the West; and the wheat-region of New York, with that of Upper Canada, were the main sources of its supply. Now, after only twelve years, an enormous supply of wheat and flour is brought from the West, along Lake Erie, and shipped upon the Erie Canal for the East, at Buffalo and the adjoining port of Blackrock... The effect of these large arrivals from the Western States—which were unnaturally stimulated during the years of European famine ... has been to render wheat less valuable in western New York, to make the wheat culture less remunerative, and to turn the attention of the New York farmers more to grazing and dairy husbandry, fruit culture, and other branches of rural economy, in which they think the North-West will be unable so directly to compete with them." (J. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America*, London, 1851, I, pp. 220-23.)

Thirdly, it is a mistaken assumption that the land in colonies and, in general, in young countries which can export grain at cheaper prices, must of necessity be of greater natural fertility. The grain is not only sold below its value in such cases, but below its price of production, i.e., below the price of production determined by the average rate of profit in the older countries.

The fact that we, as Johnston says (p. 223), "are accustomed to attach the idea of great natural productiveness and of boundless tracts of rich land, to those new States from which come the large supplies of wheat that are annually poured into the port of Buffalo," is primarily the result of economic conditions. The entire population of such an area as Michigan, for instance, is at first almost exclusively engaged in farming, and particularly in producing agricultural mass products, which alone can be exchanged for industrial products and tropical goods. Its entire surplus-production appears, therefore, in the form of grain. This from the outset sets apart the colonial states founded on the basis of the modern world-market from those of earlier, particularly ancient, times. They receive through the world-market finished products, such as clothing and tools which they would have to produce themselves under other circumstances. Only on such a basis were the Southern States of the Union enabled to make cotton their staple crop.

The division of labour on the world-market makes this possible. Hence, if they seem to have a large surplus-production considering their youth and relatively small population, this is not so much due to the fertility of their soil, nor the fruitfulness of their labour, but rather to the one-sided form of their labour, and therefore of the surplus-produce in which such labour is incorporated.

Furthermore, a relatively inferior soil which is newly cultivated and never before touched by civilisation provided the climatic conditions are then not completely unfavourable, has accumulated a great deal of plant food that is easily assimilated—at least in the upper layers of the soil—so that it will yield crops for a long time without the application of fertilisers and even with very superficial cultivation. The western prairies have the additional advantage of hardly requiring any clearing expenses since Nature has made them arable.* In less fertile areas of this kind, the surplus is not produced as a result of the high fertility of the soil, i.e., the yield per acre, but as a result of the large acreage which may be superficially cultivated, since such land costs the cultivator nothing, or next to nothing as compared with older countries. This is the case, for instance, where share cropping exists, as in parts of New York, Michigan, Canada, etc. A family superficially cultivates, say, 100 acres, and although the output per acre is not large, the output from 100 acres yields a considerable surplus for sale. In addition to this, cattle may be grazed on natural pastures at almost no cost, without requiring artificial grass meadows. It is the quantity of the land, not its quality, which is decisive here. The possibility of such superficial cultivation is naturally more or less rapidly exhausted, namely, in inverse proportion to the fertility of the new soil and in direct proportion to the exports of its products. "And yet such a country will give excellent first crops, even of wheat, and will supply to those who skim the first cream off the country, a large surplus of this grain to send to market" (1.c., p. 224).

From "Chapter XXXIX. First Form of Differential Rent"

Published as a separate German edition in 1894

Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III,
Moscow, 1974, pp. 76, 669-72

* [It is precisely the rapidly growing cultivation of such prairie or steppe regions which of late turns the renowned statement of Malthus, that "the population is a burden upon the means of subsistence,"¹⁸⁵ into ridicule, and produced in its stead the agrarian lament that agriculture, and with it Germany, will be ruined, unless the means of subsistence which are a burden upon the population are forcibly kept away from them. The cultivation of these steppes, prairies, pampas, llanos, etc., is nevertheless only in its beginning; its revolutionising effect on European agriculture will, therefore, make itself felt in the future even more so than hitherto.—F. E.]

THEORIES OF SURPLUS-VALUE

From VOLUME IV OF *CAPITAL*

Two different aspects must be distinguished here.

Firstly: There are the colonies proper, such as in the United States, Australia, etc. Here the mass of the farming colonists, although they bring with them a larger or smaller amount of capital from the mother-land, are not *capitalists*, nor do they carry on *capitalist* production. They are more or less peasants who work themselves and whose main object, in the first place, is to produce *their own livelihood*, their means of subsistence. Their main product therefore does not become a *commodity* and is not intended for trade. They sell or exchange the excess of their products over their own consumption for imported manufactured commodities, etc. The other, smaller section of the colonists who settle near the sea, navigable rivers, etc., form trading towns. There is no question of capitalist production here either. Even if capitalist production gradually comes into being, so that the sale of his products and the profit he makes from this sale become decisive for the farmer who himself works and owns his land; so long as, compared with capital and labour, land still exists in elemental abundance providing a practically unlimited field of action, the first type of colonisation will continue as well and production will therefore *never* be regulated according to the needs of the market—at a given market-value. Everything the colonists of the first type produce *over and above* their immediate consumption, they will throw on the market and sell at any price that will bring in more than their wages. They are, and continue for a long time to be, competitors of the farmers who are already producing more or less capitalistically, and thus keep the market-price of the agricultural product constantly *below* its value. The farmer who therefore cultivates land of the worst kind, will be quite satisfied if he makes the average profit on the sale of his farm, i.e., if he gets back the capital invested, this is not the case in very many instances. Here therefore we have two essentially different conditions competing with one another: capitalist production is not as yet dominant in agriculture; secondly, although landed property exists legally, in practice it only exists as yet sporadically, and strictly speaking there is only possession of land. Or although landed property exists in a legal sense, it is—in view of the *elemental* abundance of land relative to labour and capital—as yet unable to offer resistance to capital, to transform agriculture into a

field of action which, in contrast to non-agricultural industry, offers specific resistance to the *investment of capital*.

In the second type of colonies—plantations—where commercial speculations figure from the start and production is intended for the world market, the capitalist mode of production exists, although only in a formal sense, since the slavery of Negroes precludes free wage-labour, which is the basis of capitalist production. But the business in which slaves are used is conducted by *capitalists*. The method of production which they introduce has not arisen out of slavery but is grafted on to it. In this case the same person is capitalist and landowner. And the *elemental* [profusion] existence of the land confronting capital and labour does not offer any resistance to capital investment, hence none to the competition between capitals. Neither does a class of farmers as distinct from landlords develop here. So long as these conditions endure, nothing will stand in the way of cost-price regulating market-value.

From "Chapter XII.
Tables of Differential Rent
and Comment"

It is of course quite certain that the colonists will not pick out the least fertile land, but will choose the most fertile, i.e., the land that will produce most, with the means of cultivation at their disposal. But this is not the sole limiting factor in their choice. The first deciding factor for them is the *situation*, the situation near the sea, large rivers, etc. The land in West America, etc., may be as fertile as any; but the settlers of course established themselves in New England, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Virginia, etc., in short, on the east coast of the Atlantic. If they selected the most fertile land, then they only selected the *most fertile land in this region*. This did not prevent them from cultivating *more fertile* land in the West, at a later stage, as soon as growth of population, formation of capital, development of means of communication, building of towns, made the *more fertile land* in this *more distant* region accessible to them. They do not look for the *most fertile region*, but for the *most favourably situated region*, and within this, of course—given *equal* conditions so far as the situation is concerned—they look for the *most fertile* land. But this certainly does not prove that they progress from the more fertile region to the less fertile region, only that within the *same* region—provided the situation is the same—the more fertile land is naturally cultivated before the unfertile.

From "Chapter XIII.
Ricardo's Theory of Rent"

The machine is thus a means to prevent a rise of labour.

"To elucidate the principle, I have been supposing, that improved machinery is suddenly discovered, and extensively used; but the truth is, that these discoveries are gradual, and rather operate in determining the employment of the capital which is saved and accumulated, than in diverting capital from its actual employment" [I.C., p. 478].*

The truth is, that it is not so much the displaced labour as, rather, the new supply of labour—the part of the growing population which was to replace it—for which, as a result of new accumulation, new fields of employment are opened.

"In America and many other countries, where the food of man is easily provided, there is not nearly such great temptation to employ machinery" (nowhere is it used on such a massive scale and also, so to speak, for domestic needs as in America) "as in England, where food is high, and costs much labour for its production" [I.C., p. 479].

{How little the employment of machinery is dependent on the price of food is shown precisely by America, which employs relatively much more machinery than England, where there is always a redundant population. The use of machinery *may*, however, depend on the relative scarcity of labour as, for instance, in America, where a comparatively small population is spread over immense tracts of land. Thus we read in the *Standard* of September 19, 1862, in an article on the Exhibition¹⁸⁶:

"Man is a machine-making animal' ... if we consider the American as a representative man, the definition is ... perfect. It is one of the cardinal points of an American's system to do nothing with his hands that he can do by a machine. From rocking a cradle to making a coffin, from milking a cow to clearing a forest, from sewing on a button to voting for President, almost, he had a machine for everything. He has invented a machine for saving the trouble of masticating food.... The exceeding scarcity of labour and its consequent high value" (despite the low value of food), "as well as a certain innate 'cuteness' have stimulated this inventive spirit.... The machines produced in America are, generally speaking, inferior in value to those made in England ... they are rather, as a whole, *makeshifts to save labour* than inventions to accomplish former impossibilities". (And the steam ships?) ... [at the Exhibition] "in the United States department [...] is Emery's cotton gin. For many a year after the introduction of cotton to America the crop was very small; because not only was the demand rather limited, but the difficulty of cleaning the crop by manual labour rendered it anything but remunerative. When Eli Whitney, however, invented the saw cotton-gin 1747! there was an immediate increase in the breadth planted, and that increase has up to the present time gone on almost in an arithmetical progression. In fact, it is not too much to say that Whitney made the cotton trade. With modifications more or less important and useful his gin has remained in use ever since; and until the invention of the present improvement and addition Whitney's original gin was quite as good as the most of its would-be supplacers. By the present machine,

* Ricardo D., *On the Principles of Political Economy, and Taxation*. Third edition, London, 1821. The first edition came out in London in 1817.—Ed.

which bears the name of Messrs. Emery of [...] Albany, N.Y., we have no doubt that Whitney's gin, on which it is based, will be almost entirely supplanted. It is simple and more efficacious; it delivers the cotton not only cleaner, but in sheets like wadding, and thus the layers as they leave the machine are at once fit for the cotton press and the bale.... In [the] American Court proper there is little else than machinery [...] *The cow-milker... a beltshifter... a hemp carding and spinning machine*, which at one operation reels the cliver direct from the bale... *machines [...] for the manufacture of paper-bags*, which it cuts from the sheet, pastes, folds, and perfects at the rate of 300 a minute.... Hawes's clothes-wringer, which by two indiarubber rollers presses from clothes the water, leaving them almost dry, [...] saves time, but does not injure the texture.... *bookbinder's machinery... machines for making shoes*. It is well known that the uppers have been for a long time made up by machinery in this country, but here are machines for putting on the sole, others for cutting the sole to shape, and others again for trimming the heels.... A *stone-breaking machine* is very powerful and ingenious, and no doubt will come extensively into use for ballasting roads and crushing ores.... A *system of marine signals* by Mr. W. H. Ward of Auburn, New York.... *Reaping and mowing machines* are an American invention coming into very general favour in England. [...] McCormick's" [machine is] "the best ... Hansbrow's California Prize Medal *Force Pump*, is in simplicity and efficiency the best [...] in the Exhibition ... it will throw more water with the same power than any pump in the world... *Sewing machines...*"¹

From "Chapter XVIII.
Ricardo's Miscellanea.
John Barton"

Written in 1862 and 1863

Published as a separate
German edition in 1959 and
1962

Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus-Value*,
Part II, Moscow, 1975, pp. 301-03,
311-12, 574-76

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

1866 TO 1882

Karl Marx

From THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

Your General Council is in constant communication with the National Labor Union of the United States. On its last Congress of August, 1867, the American Union had resolved to send a delegate to the Brussels Congress, but, pressed for time, was unable to take the special measures necessary for carrying out the vote.¹⁸⁷

The latent power of the working classes of the United States has recently manifested itself in the legal establishment of a working day of eight hours in all the workshops of the Federal Government, and in the passing [of] laws to the same effect by many State Legislatures. However, at this very moment the working men of New York, for example, are engaged in a fierce struggle for enforcing the eight hours' law, against the resistance of rebellious capital. This fact proves that even under the most favourable political conditions all serious success of the proletariat depends upon an organisation that unites and concentrates its forces....

Written on September 1, 1868

Reproduced from the newspaper

Published in *The Times*,
September 9, 1868

The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, pp. 328-29

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES

Fellow-workmen,

In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the Civil War suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshares into swords would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast-growing international co-operation into an internecine war?

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American Civil War would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the States themselves, an independent working-class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the Civil War was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working

class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent, while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent, those of skilled labour 60 per cent only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the Civil War did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, depends the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

London, May 12, 1869

Published as a leaflet, *Address to the National Labor Union of the United States*, London, 1869

Reproduced from the leaflet

The General Council of the First International. 1868-1870. Minutes, Moscow, 1974, pp. 319-21

Karl Marx

From REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
TO THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

During last May, a war between the United States and England seemed imminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr. Sylvis, the President of the American National Labour Union, calling on the United States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war.*

The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage to his memory, by his reply to our letter:

"Your favour of the 12th instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the downtrodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship. Go ahead in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

Written on September 1, 1869

Published in the pamphlet
*Report of the Fourth Annual
Congress of the International
Working Men's Association,
held at Basle, in Switzerland,
London, 1869*

Reproduced from the pamphlet

*The General Council of the First
International. 1868-1870. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, pp. 341-42*

Karl Marx

From THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF ROMANCE SWITZERLAND

..In all the big industrial centres in England there is profound antagonism between the Irish proletariat and the English proletariat. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the *standard of life*. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him somewhat like the *poor whites* of the Southern States of North America regard their black slaves. This antagonism among the proletarians of England is artificially nourished and supported by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power.

This antagonism is reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, chased from their native soil by the *bulls* and the sheep, reassemble in North America where they constitute a huge, ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments (or the classes they represent) play on these feelings in order to perpetuate the covert struggle between the United States and England. They thereby prevent a sincere and lasting alliance between the workers on both sides of the Atlantic, and consequently, their emancipation.

Written about January 1, 1870

Published in the pamphlet
*Les prétendues scissions dans
l'Internationale, Geneva, 1872*

Translated from the French

*The General Council of the First
International. 1868-1870. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, p. 404*

* See pp. 228-29 of this book.—Ed.

Frederick Engels

TO THE SPANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

...From America, we have received the adherence of new French, German and Czech (from Bohemia) sections, and for the rest, we remain in fraternal relations with the big organisation of American workers, the Labour Union.¹⁸⁸

Written on February 13, 1871

First published in 1935

Translated from the French

The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, p. 482

From ENGELS' SPEECH
ON THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND

MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING
OF MARCH 28, 1871

Cit. *Engels* said there was as much oppression in America as here, but the republic gave a fair field for the working classes to agitate. In the densely populated states the labour movement was organised but the extent of unoccupied land prevented [it from] getting stronger than it was.

Written in English

The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, p. 165

From MARX'S INTERVIEW
WITH THE CORRESPONDENT OF *THE WORLD*

London, July 3

R.—And the United States?

Dr. M.—The chief centres of our activity are for the present among the old societies of Europe. Many circumstances have hitherto tended to present the labor problem from assuming an all absorbing importance in the United States. But they are rapidly disappearing, and it is rapidly coming to the front there with the growth, as in Europe, of a laboring class distinct from the rest of the community and divorced from capital....

R. Landor

Published in the newspaper
The World, July 18, 1871 and
in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*
No. 13/65, August 12, 1871

Reproduced from *Woodhull and
Claflin's Weekly*

Karl Marx

RESOLUTIONS ON THE SPLIT
IN THE UNITED STATES' FEDERATION
PASSED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE I.W.A.
IN ITS Sittings OF 5th AND 12th MARCH, 1872¹⁸⁹

I. THE TWO FEDERAL COUNCILS

Art. 1. Considering, that Central Councils are but instituted in order to secure, in every country, to "the Working Men's movement the power of union and combination" (Art. 7 of the General Rules); that, consequently, the existence of two rival Central Councils for the same federation is an open infraction of the General Rules;

The General Council calls upon the two provisional Federal Councils at New York to re-unite and to act as one and the same provisional Federal Council for the United States until the meeting of an American General Congress.

Art. 2. Considering, that the efficiency of the Provisional Federal Council would be impaired if it contained too many members who have only quite recently joined the International Working Men's Association;

The General Council recommends that such new-formed sections as are numerically weak, should combine amongst each other for the appointment of a few common delegates.

II. GENERAL CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES' FEDERATION

Art. 1. The General Council recommends the convocation, for the 1st of July 1872, of a General Congress of the delegates of sections and affiliated societies of the United States.

Art. 2. To this Congress will belong the appointment of the members of the Federal Council for the United States. It may, if convenient, empower the Federal Council thus appointed to add to itself a certain limited number of members.

Art. 3. This Congress will have the sole power of determining the bye-laws and regulations for the organisation of the I.W.A. in the United States, "but such bye-laws and regulations must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations of the Association" (Adm. Reg., V. Art. 1).

III. SECTIONS

Art. 1. Considering, that Section No. 12 at New York has not only passed a formal resolution by virtue of which "each section" possesses "the independent right" to construe, according to its fancy, "the proceedings of the several congresses" and the "General Rules and Regulations", but moreover has fully acted up to this doctrine which, if generally adopted, would leave nothing of the I.W.A. but its name;

that the same section has never ceased to make the I.W.A. the vehicle of issues some of which are foreign to, while others are directly opposed to, the aims and purposes of the I.W.A.;

For these reasons the General Council considers it its duty to put in force Administrative Resolution VI of the Bâle Congress¹⁹⁰ and to declare Section No. 12 suspended till the meeting of the next General Congress of the I.W.A. which is to take place in September 1872.

Art. 2. Considering, that the I.W.A., according to the General Rules, is to consist exclusively of "working men's societies" (see Art. 1, Art. 7 and Art. 11 of the General Rules);

that, consequently, Art. 9 of the General Rules to this effect: "Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the I.W.A. is eligible to become a member", although it confers upon the active adherents of the *International*, who are no working men, the right either of individual membership or of admission to working men's sections, does in no way legitimate the foundation of sections, exclusively or principally composed of members not belonging to the working class;

that for this very reason the General Council was some months ago precluded from recognising a Slavonian section, exclusively composed of students;

that, according to the General Regulations V, 1, the General Rules and Regulations are to be adapted "to local circumstances of each country";

that the social conditions of the United States, though in many other respects most favourable to the success of the working-class movement, peculiarly facilitate the intrusion into the *International* of bogus reformers, middle-class quacks and trading politicians;

For these reasons the General Council recommends that in future there be admitted no new American section of which two-thirds at least do not consist of wage-labourers.

Art. 3. The General Council calls the attention of the American Federation to Resolution II, 3, of the London Conference relating to "sectarian sections" or "separatist bodies pretending to accomplish special missions" distinct from the common aim of the Association, viz., to emancipate the man of labour from his "economical subjection to the monopoliser of the means of labour", which "lies at the bottom

of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence" (see Preamble of the General Rules).

Written about March 5, 1872

Printed according to Marx's English manuscript

Published in the newspapers
La Emancipacion No. 43,
April 6, 1872, and
Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly
No. 103, May 4, 1872

The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes,
Moscow, 1974, pp. 410-13

THE INTERNATIONAL IN AMERICA

Our readers will have seen from the American reports we published that a split has occurred among the members of the International in the United States. The events which have taken place in New York during the last few months, are indeed so novel in the history of the International that they deserve to be set forth in perspective. We are using an article published in the *Emancipacion* of Madrid (June 22) as a basis and supplement it with material from original documents in our possession.

It is well known that the bourgeoisie and the governments of Europe have presented the International as a terrifying bugbear. This has served its purpose and horrified all respectable citizens, so that there is no danger of the International being diverted from its original aims by a huge influx of middle-class people. But things are quite different in America. Issues that are likely to give the bourgeoisie and governments of Europe fits, are on the contrary regarded as interesting over there. A society that has developed on an entirely bourgeois foundation without a landed aristocracy and without a monarchy can laugh at the childish terror of the European bourgeoisie that has not yet outgrown—mentally at any rate not even in France—the effects of the scourge of the monarchy and aristocracy. Hence the more frightening the International seemed in Europe, and the more it was depicted as something outrageous by the correspondents of the American press—and no one can paint a more garish picture than these gentlemen—the more the Americans thought that now the International was an object suitable for making capital, both financial and political capital, out of it.

How far American society is ahead of European society is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that two American *ladies* were the first to discover this and to attempt to gain advantage from it. While the gentlemen of the European bourgeoisie were trembling at the thought of the International, two American bourgeois women, Mrs. Victoria Woodhull and her sister Miss Tenni Claflin (publishers of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*) decided to exploit this fearsome society. And they almost succeeded.

These two sisters, millionairesses and advocates of the emancipation of women and especially of "free love", resolutely joined the International. Section No. 9 was set up under the leadership of Miss Claflin

and Section No. 12 under the leadership of Mrs. Woodhull. New sections soon arose in various parts of America, all set up by supporters of the two sisters. According to the existing arrangements every section had the right to send one delegate to the Central Committee, meeting in New York. The result was that the Federal Council, which originally consisted of German, Irish and French workers, was very soon inundated by a multitude of American bourgeois adventurers of all sorts and both sexes. The workers were pushed into the background and the victory of the two calculating sisters seemed certain. Section No. 12 came now to the fore and explained to the founders of the American International what it was really all about.

Section No. 12 issued an appeal dated August 30, 1871, and signed by W. West, Secretary.¹⁹¹ In it we read:

"The object of the International is simply to emancipate the labourer, male and female, by the conquest of political power." "It involves, first, the Political Equality and Social Freedom of men and women alike." "Political Equality means the personal participation of each in the preparation, administration and execution of the laws by which all are governed. Social Freedom means absolute immunity from impertinent intrusion in all affairs of exclusively personal concernment, such as religious belief, the sexual relation, habits of dress, etc." "The proposition involves, secondly, the establishment of a *Universal Government*.... Of course, the abolition of... differences of language are embraced in the programme."

So that no misunderstanding should arise concerning the purpose of the organisation, it demands that

"If practicable, for the convenience of political action, there should be a section formed in every primary election district.... There must ultimately be instituted in every town a Municipal Committee... corresponding with the Common Councils; in every State, a State Committee... corresponding with the State legislature, and in the Nation a National Committee... corresponding with the United States National Congress.... The work of the International includes nothing less than the institution, within existing forms, of another form of Government, which shall supersede them all."

According to this it was the business of the International to exploit the existing state, and not to overturn the foundations of this state. In fact, as Mr. West quite correctly exclaimed (*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, March 2, 1872):

"The issue of the Appeal of Section 12... was a new departure in the history of the International."

In order to accomplish this "new departure", it was first of all necessary to shake off the fetters imposed by the General Rules and Congress Resolutions, which hitherto had been undeniably valid. Consequently, Section No. 12 proclaimed

"the independent right of each section to have, hold and give expression to its own construction of said proceedings of the several Congresses, and the Rules and

Regulations of said General Council" (that is to say of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the Association) "each section being alone responsible for its own action" (*Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, October 21, 1871).

The mischief went now too far. Instead of workers' sections, sections consisting of all sorts of bourgeois humbugs, advocates of free love, spirit-rappers, spirit-rapping Shakers, etc., were formed. Therefore Section No. 1 (consisting of Germans), the first section of the International to be formed in America, at long last issued an appeal in which, in face of this swindle, the essentially proletarian nature of the Association was stressed. The American parent Section No. 12 replied immediately. Through West, its Secretary, it declared in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* that

"The extension of equal citizenship to women, the world over, must precede any general change in the subsisting relations of capital and labour.... Section No. 12 would also remonstrate against the vain assumption, running all through the Protest" (of Section No. 1), "that the International Working Men's Association is an organisation of the working classes."

Another protest of Section No. 12 followed on November 25, in which we read:

"The statement" (in the General Rules) "that the emancipation of the working classes can only be conquered by themselves, cannot be denied, yet it is true so far as it describes the fact that the working classes cannot be emancipated against their will."

Open warfare broke out at last between the exploiters of the state apparatus, place hunters, advocates of free love, spirit-rappers and other middle-class humbugs on the one side and, on the other side, workers who in their naïveté really imagined that the International Working Men's Association was, in America as well, an organisation of the working class and not of the bourgeoisie. The German Section No. 1 demanded that the Central Committee should exclude Section No. 12 and expel the delegates of all sections in which workers made up less than two-thirds of the membership. Thereupon the Central Committee split, some of the Germans and the Irish together with a few Frenchmen supported Section No. 1, whereas the Americans, the majority of the French sections and two German sections (followers of Schweitzer) set up a new Central Committee.

The old Committee (which we call No. 1) issued a circular on December 4, in which it described the situation as follows:

"The Central Committee, which should have been a defence against all fraudulent reforms, finally comprised a majority of reformers and benefactors of the people who had almost completely sunk into oblivion. Thus it came about that the people who preached the gospel of free love rubbed shoulders amicably with those who wanted to confer the blessing of a common language on the whole world; there were also exponents of agricultural co-operative societies, spirit-rappers, atheists and deists each trying to ride his own hobbyhorse. Section

No. 12 (Woodhull) in particular.... The first step which must be taken here to advance the movement is to improve the organisation and at the same time to stimulate the revolutionary element based on the opposition between the interests of the worker and those of the capitalist.... After the adjournment of the old Central Committee (on December 3, 1871) for an indefinite period, the delegates of Sections Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, etc., realising that all their efforts to check the mischief were in vain, decided to form a new Central Committee which was to consist of real workers."¹⁹²

Meanwhile Central Committee No. 2 (Woodhull) likewise continued to meet and was replenished with a lot of delegates from allegedly new sections, set up in the main by Sections Nos. 9 and 12. But most of the sections were so small that they had hardly enough members to fill even the most essential offices (secretary, treasurer, etc.).

Both Committees appealed to the General Council in London. In the meantime various sections (e.g. the French Section No. 10 and all the Irish sections) had withdrawn from the two Committees to await the decision of the General Council.

The General Council passed several resolutions on March 5 and 12,* which have already been published in the *Volksstaat* (No. 37). They suspend Section No. 12 and advise the two Committees to unite until an American Congress meets and decides the matter, and recommend that henceforth no section should be admitted unless at least two-thirds of its members are wage-earners. Although, for very good reasons, these resolutions are almost exclusively couched in the form of recommendations, they have decided the fate of the International in America. By in fact concurring with Committee No. 1, the resolutions have precluded the farther exploitation of the name of the International by the bourgeois members in Committee No. 2 for their particular purposes.

In direct contravention of Resolution XVII of the London Conference, which stated that all internal questions of the Association were not to be discussed publicly but only within the sections or federations, Committee No. 2 had since the beginning of the split invited reporters of the New York press to all its debates and seen to it that the whole affair was commented on in the most notorious bourgeois newspapers. The same was the case now, when this Committee attacked the General Council, which it had believed to have captivated. Committee No. 2 enabled the most disreputable papers of New York, such as the *Herald*, to declare that the whole affair was a quarrel between Germans and Frenchmen, between Communism and Socialism, etc., and the enemies of the workers in New York were elated by the alleged annihilation of the International in America.

Committee No. 2, moreover, eagerly continued to inform the world that the International was not a workers' organisation but a bourgeois

* See pp. 235-37 of this book.—Ed.

organisation. As early as December 16, 1871, its paper, the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* wrote—

"No new test of membership, as that two-thirds or any part of a section shall be wages-slaves, as if it were a crime to be free, was required" in our Committee.

And, on May 4, 1872, it again declared—

"In this decree of the General Council its authors presume to recommend that in future no American section be admitted, of which two-thirds at least are not wages-slaves. Must they be *politically slaves* also? As well one thing as the other.... The intrusion ... of 'bogus reformers', do-gooders, 'middle-class quacks and trading politicians' is mostly to be feared from that class of citizens who have nothing better to depend upon than the *proceeds of wages-slavery*."

In one respect this was the final verdict of Committee No. 2. Not only was it an absurdity to think that the International Working Men's Association was an organisation of workers, but in addition the Association could only achieve its goal if it expelled all workers, all wage-slaves, or at least declared them suspect.

And what is the goal of the International Working Men's Association (without Working Men) in America? We are now told this as well. The elections of a new president were approaching in the United States.

The inevitable ladies' paper, the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, printed an article on March 2, 1872, under the heading "The Coming Combination Convention". In it we read:

"There is a proposition under consideration by the representatives of the various reformatory elements of the country looking to a grand consolidated convention to be held in this city in May next.... Indeed, if this convention in May acts wisely, who can say that the fragments of the defunct Democratic" (i.e. pro-slavery) "Party will not come out ... and take part in the proposed convention." All radicals should "be represented in it", etc.

Week after week this paper printed appeals to all do-gooders,

"Labor, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and Internationals and Women Suffragists" and "all those who believe that the time has come to carry [out] the principles of true morality and religion" (!).

These were signed in the first place by Victoria Woodhull, and then by Th. H. Banks, R. W. Hume, G. R. Allen, W. West, G. W. Maddox, T. Millot, in short by the chiefs of Committee No. 2. All these appeals expressly stated that the convention of delegates would nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States.

This monster convention was finally held in the Apollo Hall of New York on May 9, 10 and 11. All male and female cranks of America were assembled there. Committee No. 2 was present *en masse*. It was decided to nominate Mrs. Victoria Woodhull as presidential candidate of the United States, and moreover in the name of the International!

The response to this was peals of laughter throughout America. This of course did not deter the American speculators interested in the

matter. It was different with the Germans and French who had allowed themselves to become involved. Section No. 2 (French) has dismissed its delegate to Committee No. 2 and accepted the decisions of the General Council. Section No. 6 (German) has likewise dismissed its delegate to Committee No. 2—a Dr. Grosse who was formerly the private secretary of Schweitzer in Berlin—and withdrawn from Committee No. 2 until it accepted the decisions of the General Council. Eight other sections (French and German) have withdrawn from Committee No. 2 on May 20, and it now consists only of the well-known equivocal Americans—Mrs. Victoria Woodhull and her entourage—who were in fact already close associates before they joined the International. These people have declared now that they intend to set up a separate, exclusively American International, and this they are of course at liberty to do.

Meanwhile in reply to an inquiry made by the German Section of Saint Louis and the French Section of New Orleans, the General Council has stated that it recognises only Committee No. 1 (now the provisional Federal Council of the United States). And that has spelt the end of Mrs. Victoria Woodhull's campaign to conquer the International.

The *Emancipacion* adds:

"In view of these facts, all unbiased people must wonder when and how this scandal would have ended, had there been no General Council empowered to uphold the basic principles of the International and to suspend those Sections and Federations which tried to transform the Association into an instrument for attaining their political and personal designs."

Written about July 9, 1872

Published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 57,
July 17, 1872

MARX'S SPEECH ON WEST'S MANDATE

From THE MINUTES OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.
SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 4, 1872

Marx proposes in the name of the committee the invalidation of West's mandate because he 1) is a member of the suspended Section No. 12; 2) was a member of the Philadelphia Congress, and 3) was a member of the Prince Street Council. Moreover, West's mandate is signed by Victoria Woodhull, who has been intriguing for years already to become president of the United States, is president of the spiritualists, preaches free love, has a banking business, etc. Section No. 12 founded by V. Woodhull consisted in the beginning almost entirely of bourgeois, agitated mainly for women's franchise and issued the notorious appeal to the English-speaking citizens of the United States in which all sorts of nonsense were ascribed to the I.W.A. and on the basis of which various similar sections were formed in the country. Among other things the appeal mentioned personal freedom, social freedom (free love), manner of dressing, women's franchise, a world language, etc. They declared on October 28 that "the emancipation of the working class by the working class itself" meant only that the emancipation of the working class must not be accomplished against the will of the workers themselves. They place the women's question before the workers' question and refuse to recognise that the I.W.A. is a workers' organisation. Section No. 1 protested against this conduct of Section No. 12 and demanded that every section should be composed of at least 2/3 wage-workers, because so far every working-class movement has in America been exploited by the bourgeoisie. Section No. 12 opposed the 2/3 wage-worker composition, asking sardonically whether it is a crime to be free and not a wage-slave. Both parties then appealed to the General Council for a decision, and the General Council gave this decision on March 5 and 12 by suspending Section No. 12.

On these grounds West cannot be admitted. Section No. 12 did not recognise the General Council's decision. West was also a member of the Philadelphia Congress and the Prince Street Council, which refused to recognise the General Council and maintained connections with the Jura Federation¹⁹³; the latter, according to newspaper reports, advised it not to pay subscriptions to the General Council and thus put it on the rocks.

First published in the book:
*Minutes of the Hague Congress
of 1872*, Madison, 1958

*The Hague Congress of
the First International.
Minutes and Documents.*
Moscow, 1976, pp. 133-34

ENGELS' SPEECH ON THE SEAT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

From THE MINUTES OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.
SITTING OF SEPTEMBER 6, 1872

Engels speaks in favour of his proposal for the General Council to be transferred to New York. The General Council has so far always been in London because only there could it be international and its papers and members could be in safety. But in New York our papers are as safe as in London whereas they are not safe in any place on the Continent, not even in Brussels or Geneva, as can be seen from the police incidents that have taken place there. The party dissensions have become so sharp in London that the seat *must* be changed.

Besides, the accusations against the General Council have become so vehement and continuous that the majority of the previous members are tired of it and resolved not to accept a seat on it any more. He can say this quite definitely in respect of Marx and himself. Moreover the previous General Council has never by any means been unanimous, as can be testified by all the members. The General Council has now been in the same place for eight years, there must be a change at last to avoid a feared ossification. Marx already proposed on this ground in 1870 that the General Council should be moved to Brussels, but at the time all the federations pronounced in favour of it remaining in London. Where should the General Council be moved to now? To Brussels? The Belgians themselves declare that this is not appropriate, because there are no guarantees of safety for either persons or papers. To Geneva? The Genevans are resolutely opposed, partly for the same reasons as the Belgians, and refer to the confiscation of the Utin papers.

So there is no other place left but New York. There our papers will be in safety, we have a new, strong organisation there and our party is genuinely international there as in no other place in the world. Look at the New York Federal Council. It is composed of Irish, French, Italian, Swedish, German, and soon also American members. The objection that New York is too far away is not tenable, for that will be of a certain advantage for European federations, which are jealous of any interference of the General Council in their internal affairs, for the considerable distance itself makes such interference difficult and will prevent individual federations from obtaining too great an influence in the General Council; moreover, the General Council has the

right and even the duty to appoint special representatives in Europe in certain cases and in respect of certain countries as it has always done so far.

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*The Hague Congress of
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Minutes and Documents,
Moscow, 1976, pp. 156-57*

KARL MARX

THE HAGUE CONGRESS

From REPORTER'S RECORD OF THE SPEECH
MADE AT THE MEETING HELD IN AMSTERDAM
ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1872

The Hague Congress did three principal things:

It proclaimed the necessity for the working classes to fight, in the political as well as the social sphere, against the old society, a society which is collapsing; and we are happy to see that the resolution of the London Conference is from now on included in our Rules. A group had formed in our midst advocating the workers' abstention from politics.

We have thought it important to point out how very dangerous and baneful to our cause we considered these principles to be.

The worker will some day have to win political supremacy in order to organise labour along new lines; he will have to defeat the old policy supporting old institutions, under penalty—as in the case of the ancient Christians, who neglected and scorned it—of never seeing their kingdom on earth.

But we have by no means affirmed that this goal would be achieved by identical means.

We know of the allowances we must make for the institutions, customs and traditions of the various countries; and we do not deny that there are countries such as America, England, and I would add Holland if I knew your institutions better, where the working people may achieve their goal by peaceful means. If that is true, we must also recognise that in most of the continental countries it is force that will have to be the lever of our revolutions; it is force that we shall some day have to resort to in order to establish a reign of labour.

The Hague Congress has vested the General Council with new and greater powers. Indeed, at a time when kings are gathered together in Berlin, where new and harsher measures of repression are to be adopted against us as a result of that meeting of powerful representatives of the feudal system and past times, and when persecution is being set on foot, the Hague Congress has deemed it wise and necessary to increase the powers of its General Council and to centralise, for the struggle that is about to begin, an action which isolation would render powerless. Besides, whom but our enemies could the authority of the General Council make suspicious? Has it, then, a bureaucracy and an armed police force to impose its will? Is not its authority purely moral, and does it not submit all its decisions to the federations which are entrusted with carrying them out? Under these conditions, kings without

army, police and magistracy would be but feeble obstacles to the march of the revolution, were they ever reduced to maintaining their power through moral influence and authority.

Lastly, the Hague Congress has transferred the seat of the General Council to New York. Many people, even among our friends, seem to be surprised by that decision. Are they forgetting, then, that America is becoming a world chiefly of working people, that half a million persons—working people—emigrate to that continent every year, and that the International must take strong root in soil dominated by the working man? And then, the decision of the Congress authorises the General Council to co-opt such members as it may find necessary and useful for the good of the common cause. Let us hope that it will be wise enough to choose people who will be equal to their task and will be able to bear firmly the banner of our Association in Europe.

Citizens, let us think of the fundamental principle of the International, solidarity! It is by establishing this vivifying principle on a strong basis, among all the working people of all countries, that we shall achieve the great goal we have set ourselves. The revolution needs solidarity, and we have a great example of it in the Paris Commune, which fell because a great revolutionary movement corresponding to that supreme rising of the Paris proletariat did not arise in all centres, in Berlin, Madrid and elsewhere.

Published in the newspapers
La Liberte No. 37, September 15,
 1872 and *Der Volksstaat* No. 79,
 October 2, 1872

Translated from the French
 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*
 in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow,
 1973, pp. 292-94

From THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY, FRANCE,
 THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA

The labour question has been placed on the order of the day in America by the bloody strike of the main railway line employees.¹⁹⁴ It is an event which will be epoch-making in American history. Thus the formation of a workers' party is advancing by great strides in the United States. It is advancing fast in the country and we must follow the movement in order not to be surprised by the important success it will achieve in the near future.

Written on January 12, 1878

Translated from the Italian

Published in the newspaper
La Plebe No. 3, January 22,
 1878

From MARX'S INTERVIEW WITH THE
CORRESPONDENT OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"Do European Socialists look upon the movement in America as a serious one?"

"Yes: it is the natural outcome of the country's development. It has been said that the movement has been imported by foreigners. When labor movements became disagreeable in England, fifty years ago, the same thing was said; and that was long before Socialism was spoken of. In America, since 1857 only has the labor movement become conspicuous. Then Trades-Unions began to flourish; then Trades-Assemblies were formed, in which the workers in different industries united; and after that came National Labor Unions. If you consider this chronological progress, you will see that Socialism has sprung up in that country without the aid of foreigners, and was merely caused by the concentration of capital and the changed relations between the workmen and their employers."

"Now," asked your correspondent, "what has Socialism done so far?"

"Two things," he returned. "Socialists have shown the general universal struggle between capital and labor, *the cosmopolitan character*, in one word—and consequently tried to bring about an understanding between the workmen in the different countries, which became more necessary as the capitalists became more cosmopolitan in hiring labor, pitting foreign against native labor not only in America, but in England, France, and Germany. International relations sprang up at once between the workingmen in the different countries, showing that Socialism was not merely a local, but an international problem, to be solved by the international action of workmen. The working classes moved spontaneously, without knowing what the ends of the movement will be. The Socialists invent no movement, but merely tell the workmen what its character and its ends will be."

"Which means the overthrowing of the present social system," I interrupted.

"This system of land and capital in the hands of employers, on the one hand," he continued, "and the mere working power in the hands of the laborers to sell as a commodity, we claim, is merely an historical phase, which will pass away and give place to a *higher social condition*. We see everywhere a division of society. The antagonism of the two classes goes hand in hand with the development of the industrial

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

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resources of modern countries. From a Socialistic standpoint the means already exist to revolutionize the present historical phase. Upon Trades-Unions, in many countries, have been built political organizations. In America the need of an independent Workingmen's party has been made manifest. They can no longer trust politicians. Rings and cliques have seized upon the Legislature, and politics has been made a trade. But America is not alone in this, only its people are more decisive than Europeans. Things come to the surface quicker. There is less cant and hypocrisy than there is on this side of the ocean."

Published in *The Chicago Tribune*,
January 5, 1879

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

From THE FRENCH COMMERCIAL TREATY

...But there is one country where a short period of Protection is not only justifiable but a matter of absolute necessity—America.

America is at that point of her development where the introduction of manufactures has become a national necessity. This is best proved by the fact that in the invention of labour-saving machinery it is no longer England which leads, but America. American inventions every day supersede English patents and English machinery. American machines are brought over to England; and this in almost all branches of manufactures. Then America possesses a population the most energetic in the world, coalfields against which those of England appear almost as a vanishing quantity, iron and all other metals in plenty. And is it to be supposed that such a country will expose its young and rising manufactures to a long, protracted, competitive struggle with the old-established industry of England, when, by a short term of some twenty years of Protection, she can place them at once on a level with any competitor? But, says the Manchester School, America is but robbing herself by her protective system. So is a man robbing himself who pays extra for the express train instead of taking the old Parliamentary train—fifty miles an hour instead of twelve.

There is no mistake about it, the present generation will see American cotton goods compete with English ones in India and China, and gradually gain ground in those two leading markets; American machinery and hardware compete with the English makes in all parts of the world, England included; and the same implacable necessity which removed Flemish manufactures to Holland, Dutch ones to England, will ere long remove the centre of the world's industry from this country to the United States. And in the restricted field which will then remain to England she will find formidable competitors in several Continental nations.

Written in mid-June 1881

Published in *The Labour Standard*
(London) No. 7, June 18, 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

Frederick Engels

AMERICAN FOOD
AND THE LAND QUESTION

Since autumn 1837 we have been quite accustomed to see money panics and commercial crises imported from New York into England. At least one out of every two of the decennial revulsions of industry broke out in America. But that America should also upset the time-honoured relations of British agriculture, revolutionise the immemorial feudal relations between landlord and tenant at will, smash up English rents, and lay waste English farms, was a sight reserved for the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

And yet so it is. The virgin soil of the Western prairie—which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles—is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a Tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labour. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear twenty to thirty crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale, and on the grandest scale it is worked. The British agriculturist used to pride himself of his large farms as opposed to the small farms of Continental peasant proprietors; but what are the largest farms in the United Kingdom compared to the farms of the American prairie, farms of 40,000 acres and more, worked by regular armies of men, horses, and implements, drilled, commanded, and organised like soldiers?

This American revolution in farming, together with the revolutionised means of transport as invented by the Americans, sends over to Europe wheat at such low prices that no European farmer can compete with it—at least not while he is expected to pay rent. Look at the year 1879, when this was first felt. The crop was bad in all Western Europe; it was a failure in England. Yet, thanks to American corn, prices remained almost stationary. For the first time the British farmer had a bad crop and low prices of wheat at the same time. Then the farmers began to stir, the landlords felt alarmed. Next year, with a better crop, prices went lower still. The price of corn is now determined by the cost

of production in America, plus the cost of transport. And this will be the case more and more every year, in proportion as new prairie land is put under the plough. The agricultural armies required for that operation—we find them ourselves in Europe by sending over emigrants.

Now, formerly there was this consolation for the farmer and the landlord, that if corn did not pay meat would. The plough-land was turned into grass-land, and everything was pleasant again. But now that resource is cut off too. American meat and American cattle are sent over in ever-increasing quantities. And not only that. There are at least two great cattle-producing countries which are on the alert for methods permitting them to send over to Europe, and especially to England, their immense excess of meat, now wasted. With the present state of science and the rapid progress made in its application, we may be sure that in a very few years—at the very latest—Australian and South American beef and mutton will be brought over in a perfect state of preservation and in enormous quantities. What is then to become of the prosperity of the British farmer, of the long rent-roll of the British landlord? It is all very well to grow gooseberries, strawberries, and so forth—that market is well enough supplied as it is. No doubt the British workman could consume a deal more of these delicacies—but then first raise his wages.

It is scarcely needful to say that the effect of this new American agricultural competition is felt on the Continent too. The small peasant proprietor—mostly mortgaged over head and ears—and paying interest and law expenses where the English and Irish farmer pays rent, he feels it quite as much. It is a peculiar effect of this American competition that it renders not only large landed property, but also small landed property useless, by rendering both unprofitable.

It may be said that this system of land exhaustion, as now practised in the Far West, cannot go on for ever, and things must come right again. Of course, it cannot last for ever; but there is plenty of unexhausted land yet to carry on the process for another century. Moreover, there are other countries offering similar advantages. There is the whole South Russian steppe, where, indeed, commercial men have bought land and done the same thing. There are the vast pampas of the Argentine Republic, there are others still; all lands equally fit for this modern system of giant farming and cheap production. So that before this thing is exhausted it will have lived long enough to kill all the landlords of Europe, great and small, at least twice over.

Well, and the upshot of all this? The upshot will and must be that it will force upon us the nationalisation of the land and its cultivation by co-operative societies under national control. Then, and then alone, it will again pay both the cultivators and the nation to work it, whatever the price of American or any other corn and meat may be. And if the

landlords in the meantime, as they seem to be half inclined to do, actually do go to America, we wish them a pleasant journey.

Written at the end of June 1881

Reproduced from the newspaper

Published in *The Labour Standard*
(London) No. 9, July 2, 1881

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

From PREFACE TO THE 1882 RUSSIAN EDITION
OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*

Precisely European immigration fitted North America for a gigantic agricultural production, whose competition is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. In addition it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England, existing up to now. Both circumstances react in revolutionary manner upon America itself. Step by step the small and middle landownership of the farmers, the basis of the whole political constitution, is succumbing to the competition of giant farms; simultaneously, a mass proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capitals are developing for the first time in the industrial regions.

Written on January 21, 1882

Published in the book: K. Marx and
F. Engels, *The Manifesto of the
Communist Party*, Geneva, 1882

K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto
of the Communist Party*, Moscow,
1977, p. 11

Frederick Engels

JULY 2, 1881.

NDARD.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL IN THE UNITED STATES

Statistical data recently published in various English journals show the immense speed with which the concentration of capital is proceeding in the United States of America. According to these data, Mr. Vanderbilt of New York is the richest of the rich. This railway, landed property, industrial, etc., magnate is estimated to own (the Americans call it "to be worth") roughly \$300 million (1 dollar=4 marks 25 pfennigs). His property comprises \$65 million in United States Bonds, \$50 million New-York-Central and Hudson-River-Railway shares and \$50 million other railway shares as well as enormous land holdings both in New York and in the interior of the country. The journals add with admiration that Mr. Vanderbilt could buy up several Rothschilds and still remain the richest man in the world.

And the Vanderbilt family has amassed this gigantic fortune in about 30 years! This is a case without parallel in history, writes the *Whitehall Review*. We think so too.

Vanderbilt is followed in the list of plutocrats by:

Jay Gould, who is likewise a notorious railway swindler—\$100 million; *Mackay*, owner of silver mines, who initiated the agitation for statutory bimetallism—\$50 million; *Crocker* 50 million; *John Rockefeller*, a petroleum tycoon, but not a *pétroleur*—40 million; *C. P. Huntington*—20 million; *D. O. Mills*—20 million; Senator *Fair*—30 million; ex-Governor *Stanford*—40 million; *Russell Sage*—15 million; *J. R. Keene*—15 million; *S. J. Tilden*—15 million; *E. D. Morgan*—10 million; *Samuel Sloan*—10 million; *Garrison*—10 million; *Cyrus W. Field*—10 million; *Hugh J. Jewett*—5 million; *Sidney Dillon*—5 million; *David Dows*—5 million; *J. D. Navarro*—5 million; *John W. Garrett*—5 million; *W. B. Astor*—5 million.

Thus far the list, which is however by no means complete. The number of American financial magnates is far larger. And this fabulous accumulation of wealth is constantly accelerating as a result of the enormous immigration into America. For this benefits primarily the capital magnates, either directly or indirectly. Directly because it causes land prices to rise rapidly, and indirectly because the majority of immigrants tends to lower the living standard of the American workers. The numerous strike reports which appear in fraternal newspapers of

tion is shaking the very foundations—large and small. In addition it has tremendous industrial resources which must shortly break the industrial power of England, existing up to a revolutionary manner upon America and the landownership of the farmers, which, is succumbing to the obviously, a mass proletariat and a developing for the first time in

K. Marx, F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1977, p. 11

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The Labour Standard.

Labour Conquers Everything.

LONDON: JULY 2nd, 1881.

AMERICAN FOOD AND THE LAND QUESTION.

SINCE autumn 1837 we have been quite accustomed to see money panics and commercial crises imported from New York into England. At least one out of every two of the decennial revolutions of industry broke out in America. But that America should also upset the time-honoured relations of British agriculture, revolutionise the immemorial feudal relations between landlord and tenant at will, smash up English rents, and lay waste English farms, was a sight reserved for the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

And you see it is. The virgin soil of the Western prairie—which is now coming into cultivation, not by piecemeal but in thousands of square miles—is now beginning to rule the price of wheat, and, consequently, the rent of wheat land. And no old soil can compete with it. It is a wonderful land, level, or slightly undulating, undisturbed by violent upheavals, in exactly the same condition in which it was slowly deposited at the bottom of a Tertiary ocean; free from stones, rocks, trees; fit for immediate cultivation without any preparatory labour. No clearing or draining is required; you pass the plough over it and it is fit to receive the seed, and will bear twenty to thirty crops of wheat in succession and without manuring. It is a soil fit for agriculture on the grandest scale, and on the grandest scale it is worked. The British agriculturist used to pride himself of his large farms as opposed to the small farms of Continental peasant proprietors; but what are the largest farms in the United Kingdom compared to the farms of the American prairie, farms of 10,000 acres and more, worked by regular armies of men, horses, and implements, drilled, commanded, and organised like soldiers?

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do go to America, we wish them a pleasant journey.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DOCTRINE.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN made an important speech at Birmingham on behalf of the Government, and on behalf of the middle classes, from whom he received an enthusiastic response. The very praise the speech received caused me to read it carefully in the long report in the *Daily News*. As no one else, that I have seen, has taken up the challenge then flung down to the public, I shall be glad to do so in the LABOUR STANDARD on one point, and that the all-important kernel of the speech—namely, his justification of the Government enforcing evictions in Ireland by the military and police. In these days of Radical Government, or of Radical subservience to the Liberal Government, we have to be continually on the watch lest some of our dearest liberties should be attacked and destroyed. It is most desirable that every step they now take and every new doctrine they now promulgate should be examined with the utmost care, for since the commencement of the Dublin State trial the language and proceedings of the Government, whether under express statutory protection or not, have been extraordinary in character and fraught with danger to English liberty. But that Mr. Chamberlain should become the mouthpiece of such a justification, such a new definition and declaration of Governmental duty, is indeed most surprising.

No doctrine has ever been announced by any public man more dangerous to us in England, were it not that when it is fully explained it is too monstrous and leads to an absurd conclusion. He deliberately declares that it is the duty of the Government to put law in force, to carry out all law without exception, regardless of consequences. If this is not his meaning, he had better explain himself. If it is, I assert that not only is it an erroneous exposition, but it is directly opposed to that which is and has always been recognised as the duty of the Administration, namely, *to enforce the law* and to prevent its being enforced, whenever social harm or injustice would accrue from its being carried out. Various powers are

ours published in the USA contain even now a growing proportion of strikes fought to prevent *wage reductions*, and most of the strikes aimed at wage increases are basically waged for the same reason, for they are either brought about by the enormous price rises, or by the absence of wage increases which usually take place in the spring.

Thus the stream of emigrants which Europe at present sends every year to America merely helps to develop the capitalist economy and all its consequences to the utmost, so that sooner or later a huge crash is inevitable over there. The stream of emigrants will then come to a halt or perhaps even turn back, i.e. the European worker, and especially the German worker, will then be faced with the alternative—either death from starvation or revolution! But once the alternative is put thus, it means goodbye for those lucky fellows of the holy Prussian-German Empire.

And that moment is closer than most people imagine. Even now it is difficult for the immigrants to find work over there and the symptoms of an approaching economic crisis are becoming more obvious, even a quite trivial cause at the critical moment is sufficient to *trigger off the crash*.

Consequently we cannot share the pessimistic view of the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung*, although we deplore the emigration from Germany no less than does the *Volkszeitung* and are equally convinced that it will at first lead to a considerable worsening of the position of the American workers, and although in common with the *Volkszeitung* we should like to see the German workers concentrating their efforts exclusively on the improvement of their position in Germany. We must after all take the existing circumstances into account and—since these, owing to the short-sightedness and greed of our opponents, increasingly preclude development in a truly reformatory sense—therefore consider it our duty, in spite of all panic-mongers, to prepare the minds for a revolutionary course of events.

Social revolution—that is the only solution to this conflict, which has been brought about by the enormous concentration of capital on the one hand and the increasing poverty of the masses on the other.

Written on May 3, 1882

Published in *Der Sozialdemokrat*
No. 21, May 18, 1882

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN IN HANOVER

London, October* 9, 1866
1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

... The American Workers' Congress at Baltimore, which took place at the same time, caused me great joy. The slogan there was organisation for the struggle against capital, and remarkably enough, most of the demands which I drew up for Geneva were also put forward there by the right instinct of the workers....¹⁹⁵

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 172

MARX TO FRANÇOIS LAFARGUE IN BORDEAUX

London, November 12, 1866

... You will have been glad as I was at the defeat of President Johnson in the last elections.¹⁹⁶ The workers in the North at last understand perfectly well that as long as the labour of Negroes is outraged, that of whites will never be emancipated....

Translated from the French

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, September 2, 1867

... According to a Californian newspaper, which I saw on Saturday, the eight hours movement among the building trades there must be extremely effective. The masters have set up a ten hours association in

* A slip of the pen in the original: November. Ed.

opposition to it, and are howling loudly. Contracts for 1 1/2 million dollars are said to have been cancelled as a result of the eight hours affair....¹⁹⁷

**ENGELS TO HERMANN MEYER
IN LIVERPOOL**

Manchester, October 18, 1867

...I hope you will be able to draw the attention of the German press in America and of the workers to Marx's book.* With the eight-hour agitation going on there, the book with its chapter on the *working day* will arrive at a very opportune moment. And it can also help to elucidate many other questions. Every step you take in this respect will be of great service to the future of the party in America....

**MARX TO SIEGFRIED MEYER
IN NEW YORK**

London, July 4, 1868
1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill

I am herewith enclosing the letter of authorisation for Sorge. We correspond directly with Whaley, Sylvis and Jessup....

I would be glad if you could send me a few newspapers now and then. It would be especially valuable for me if you could get hold of some anti-bourgeois stuff about landed property or agricultural conditions in the United States. In particular material directed against H. Carey's harmonies** would be welcome, for I am dealing with *rent of land* in Volume II.

London, July 4, 1868

We recommend Mr. Sorge to all the friends of the International Working Men's Association and, at the same time, empower him to act

* Volume I of *Capital*.—Ed.

** H. Ch. Carey, *The Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial*. Second edition, New York, 1865.—Ed.

in the name, and on behalf, of that Association.

By order of the General Council of the
International Working Men's Association

Karl Marx,
Secretary for Germany

Written in English

**MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER**

London, December 12, 1868

...But seriously speaking, the last Congress of the American *Labor Union*¹⁹⁸ reveals very considerable progress by the fact, among others, that it treats women workers on completely equal terms, whereas the English, and to an even larger extent the chivalrous French, must be blamed for holding hidebound views in this respect. Anyone knowing a little about history knows that no great social transformation is possible without the feminine leaven. The social position of the fair sex—the ugly ones included—is an exact yardstick of social progress....

**MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER**

[London,] August 18, 1869

...The sudden death of Sylvis (at the age of 41), President of the American Labor Union, is very regrettable, especially as it took place just *before* the meeting of the Labor Union Congress, for whose aims he had agitated travelling the length and the breadth of the United States for almost a year. Some of his work will thus be lost....

ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON

Manchester, November 19, 1869

...Carey's historical examples, in so far as they refer to America, are the only useful things in his book. As a Yankee he had himself the opportunity of experiencing the process of settlement and of observing it from the beginning, and in that respect he is well informed. Nevertheless even this part probably contains many uncritical elements which ought to be sorted out first. But as soon as he deals with Europe, he introduces artificial constructions and makes himself ridiculous. And that with regard to America too Carey is not unbiased is suggested by his eagerness to prove the worthlessness of uncultivated land, and even its *negative* value (the value of the land is so to speak minus 10 dollars per acre), and by his praise of the self-sacrificing societies which, in face of their own certain ruin, turn waste tracts into useful land for the benefit of mankind. It produces a rather strange impression when this is said in a country where jobbery in land is practised on a colossal scale. Incidentally, the *prairies* are not mentioned at all in this context, and elsewhere they are hardly mentioned either. The whole notion of the negative value of waste land and all his calculations to demonstrate it are moreover most effectively refuted by America itself. For if he were right, America would not only be the poorest country but would become *relatively* poorer year by year, because an increasing amount of labour is squandered on this worthless land....

MARX TO ENGELS
IN MANCHESTER

[London,] November 26, 1869

...With regard to the progress of cultivation in the United States itself, Mr. Carey ignores even the most familiar facts. The English agricultural chemist Johnston for instance shows in his *Notes on the United States** that the farmers who emigrated from New England to the State of New York left worse for better land (better not in Carey's

* Johnston, J.F.W., *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical and Social*. In two volumes. Edinburgh and London, 1851.—Ed.

sense, that the land has first to be made, but in the chemical and at the same time economic sense). The farmers who emigrated from the State of New York and at first settled beyond the Great Lakes, say in Michigan, left better for worse land, etc. The settlers in Virginia so abominably exploited the land best suited both as to *location* and *fertility* to their chief product, tobacco, that they had to move on to Ohio, where the soil was worse for this product (though not for wheat, etc.). The nationality of the immigrants made itself felt also in their settlements. The people from Norway and from our forest regions selected the rugged northern forest land of Wisconsin; the Yankees in the same territory kept to the prairies, etc.

Prairies, both in the United States and Australia, are in fact a thorn in Carey's flesh. According to him land not absolutely overgrown with forests is unfertile by nature—including, therefore, all natural grass land.

The joke of it is that Carey's two great final conclusions (relating to the United States) stand in direct contradiction to his dogma. *First*, owing to the diabolical influence of England, the inhabitants, instead of socially cultivating the good model lands of New England, are disseminated over the poorer (!) lands of the West. Hence a movement from better land to worse. (By the by, Carey's "dissemination", in opposition to "association", is all copied out of Wakefield.*.) *Secondly*, it is unfortunate that in the south of the United States the slave-owners (whom Mr. Carey, as an advocate of harmony, has defended in all his previous works) take the better land into cultivation too soon and skip the worse. Hence just what ought not to be: starting with the better land! If this example convinced Carey that the actions of the real cultivators, in this case the slaves, are determined neither by economic nor any other reasons of their own, but by *external constraint*, it should have been plain to him that this occurs also in other countries.

According to his theory cultivation in Europe should have started from the mountains of Norway and continued to the Mediterranean countries instead of proceeding in the reverse direction.

Carey tries, by a highly absurd and fantastic theory of money, to conjure away the awkward economic fact that, unlike all other improved machinery, the earth-machine, which according to him is *always getting better, increases*—(periodically at least)—*the cost* of its products instead of *cheapening* them. (This was one of the circumstances which influenced Ricardo; but he delved no further than the history of corn prices in England from about 1780 to 1815.)

As a harmoniser Carey first pointed out that there was no antagonism between capitalist and wage labourer. The second step was to show

* [Wakefield, E.G.,] *England and America. A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*. In two volumes. London, 1833.—Ed.

the harmony between landowner and capitalist, and this was done by regarding the state of landownership as *normal* where it is still undeveloped. The great and decisive difference between the colonies and the old civilised countries—that in the latter the mass of the population is excluded from the land—whether fertile or unfertile, cultivated or uncultivated—by *landed property*, while in the colonies land can, relatively speaking, still be appropriated by the cultivator himself—this fact must on no account be mentioned. It must have absolutely nothing to do with the rapid development of the colonies. The awkward “*question of property*” in its most disagreeable form would indeed put a spoke in the wheel of harmony.

As for the deliberate distortion that, because in a country with developed production the natural fertility of the soil is an important factor in the production of surplus value (or, as Ricardo says, affects the rate of profit), it follows conversely that consequently the richest and most developed production will be found in the naturally most fertile lands, so that it must stand higher, e.g., in Mexico than in New England—I have already answered this in *Das Kapital*, p. 502 et seqq.¹⁹⁹

Carey's only merit is that he is just as one-sided in asserting that a movement from worse to better lands takes place as Ricardo is in asserting the opposite. In reality however land of various grades of fertility is always cultivated simultaneously, and accordingly the Germans, the Slavs and the Celts very carefully distributed strips of land of different kinds among the members of the community; it was this which later made the division of the common land so difficult. But as to the progress of cultivation throughout the course of history, this, depending on the circumstances, takes place sometimes in both directions simultaneously, at other times first one tendency prevails for a period and then the other.

Interest on the capital invested in the land becomes a part of the *differential rent* just because of the fact that the landowner gets this interest from capital which not *he* but the *tenant-farmer* has put into the land. This fact, known throughout Europe, is alleged to have no economic existence because tenancy as a system is *not yet* developed in the *United States*. But there the thing takes place in another form. The land jobber and not the tenant-farmer gets paid in the end, in the *price* he charges for the land, for the capital expended by the latter. Indeed, the history of the pioneers and land jobbers in the United States often reminds one of the worst horrors taking place, e.g., in Ireland....

ENGELS TO MARX IN LONDON

Manchester, December 16, 1869

...In addition I am reading Grant's campaign against Richmond by Cannon. Grant is an obstinate ass, who had so little faith in himself and his army that, although he had twice as many troops at his disposal, he never dared to execute even the simplest flanking movement against Lee, without first weakening Lee by frontal attacks lasting several days and pinning him down in his original position. He relied on the simple calculation that if he lost three men while Lee lost one, Lee would lose all his soldiers before he would. So brutal a massacre as there has occurred nowhere else. The skirmishes which went on in the forests for days on end took particularly many lives. The woody terrain made outflanking manoeuvres very difficult and this is Grant's only excuse....

**) MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE IN HOBOKEN

[London], November 6, 1871

Dear Friend,

Today 100 copies (50 French and 50 English) of the conference resolutions* are being sent off to New York. The decisions not intended for publication will be communicated to you later.

A new, revised edition of the Rules and Regulations** will appear in English tomorrow, and you will receive 1,000 copies for sale in America (1 d. each). The text must not be translated into French and German in New York, as we are issuing official editions in both languages. Write us how many copies in each language will be wanted.

I have turned over the correspondence with the German sections and the New York Committee*** to Eccarius (he has been appointed to handle that at my suggestion),²⁰⁰ since my time does not allow me to perform this function properly.

* Marx and Engels, Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association. Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.—Ed.

** General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association.—Ed.

*** Central Committee for the North American Sections of I.W.A.—Ed.

Section No. 12 (New York) has submitted proposals to the General Council that it be constituted the leader in America. Eccarius will have sent the decisions against these pretensions and for the present Committee* to Section No. 12.

As for the Washington branch (which has sent the General Council a list of its members), the New York Committee went too far.²⁰¹ It had no right to demand anything but the number of members and the name, etc., of the corresponding secretary.

More in the next letter (*this week*).

Yours,
K. M.

**)MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

[London,] November 9, 1871

...As for the New York Central Committee,²⁰² the following:

1. According to the conference decisions, see II:1, in the future, it must call itself *Federal Council* or *Federal Committee* of the United States.

2. As soon as a much *larger* number of branches has been established in the different states, the most practical thing to do is to call a congress of the different sections—following the example of Belgium, Switzerland, and Spain—to elect a Federal Council or Committee in New York.

3. Federal committees can in turn be established in the different states—as soon as they have a sufficient number of branches—for which the New York Committee functions as the central point.

4. The definitive special rules, both of the New York Federal Committee and of the committees yet to be established, must be submitted to the General Council for sanction before their publication....

**)MARX TO FRIEDRICH BOLTE
IN NEW YORK

[London,] November 23, 1871

Friend Bolte:

I received your letter yesterday together with Sorge's report.²⁰³

* Résolution du Conseil général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, en réponse à application de la section 12 de New-York.—*Ed.*

1. First of all, as to the attitude of the General Council towards the New York Federal Council, I trust that my letters which I sent to Sorge in the meantime (and a letter to Speyer, which I authorised him to communicate to Sorge *confidentially*) will have disposed of the extremely wrong conception of the German Section which you represent.²⁰⁴

In the United States, as in every other country where the *International* has as yet to be set up, the General Council originally had to authorise individual people and appoint them its official correspondents. But from the moment the New York Committee was consolidated to some extent, these correspondents were dropped one after the other, although they could not be eliminated all at once.

For a considerable time the *official* correspondence with formerly appointed authorised representatives has been confined to Eccarius' correspondence with Jessup, and I see by your own letter that you have no complaint at all to make regarding the latter.

Except for Eccarius, however, no one was to carry on official correspondence with the United States but myself and Dupont, at that time correspondent for the *French sections*, and whatever correspondence he conducted was confined to the latter.

With the exception of yourself and Sorge, I have not carried on any official correspondence at all. My correspondence with S. Meyer is private correspondence, of which *he has never published anything at all*, and which by its very nature could *in no way* be troublesome or harmful to the New York Committee....

It is self-evident that the General Council does not support in America what it combats in Europe. Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and IX now give the New York Committee the legal means to put an end to all sectarianism and amateur groups, and, if necessary, to expel them.

3. The New York Committee will do well to express its full agreement with the conference decisions in an *official letter to the General Council*....

5. As for the Washington Section,²⁰⁵ it applied first to the General Council to establish contact with it as an independent section. If the affair is settled, it is unnecessary to return to it....

**MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

[London,] March 8, 1872
33, Rathbone Place, W. C.

...People over there seem to think that the General Council can produce things with the wave of a wand, though on the contrary *nothing at all* can be done without the contributions received from its members or their friends. I notice in your letters and those of Speyer and Bolte the same feature as in the reports from other countries. Each country believes that we can devote the whole of our time to that particular country. If we wished to complain about every detail, we might for instance mention that your reports to us were at the same time published in the *Volksstaat*.

Since the General Council instructed me to report at last on the split in America²⁰⁶ (the matter had to be deferred time and again owing to the difficulties of the International in Europe) I have carefully examined all letters from New York and everything published in the press and I have come to the conclusion that we were not in good time accurately informed of the people who caused the split. Some of the resolutions proposed by me* have already been carried, the others will be passed next Tuesday** and the final decision will then be sent to New York.

You will receive 1,000 copies of the General Rules in German. Hales will send 500 copies in English. I shall dispatch 200 copies in French, which are entirely disposed of.

Eccarius says that the Rules were sent to Gregory²⁰⁷ (his private correspondent) because you informed him that you had resigned your position and did not name another correspondent.

The complaint about the separate "French" correspondent is certainly not justified,²⁰⁸ for the Germans too had their separate correspondent, and Eccarius, the Secretary for the United States, is able to correspond in German and in English but not in French. The complaint moreover was impolitic, for in the eyes of the French members of the Council it seemed to confirm that Section No. 1 wants to assume a sort of dictatorship over the other sections.²⁰⁹ This complaint arrived together with that of the Counter-Committee which alleged that Section No. 1 had more representatives in the old Committee than the Rules permitted....

* Marx, Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation.—*Ed.*
** March 12, 1872.—*Ed.*

**ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
IN LEIPZIG**

London, May 27 [-28], 1872

...As to America, the split occurred there immediately after the Conference,²¹⁰ the sub-committee (the secretaries) was to report about the matter, and since up to then the American correspondence was mainly dealt with by Marx, he took the whole thing over and letters were sent to him. It is self-evident that thus Eccarius' position as a secretary had in fact been suspended until the whole matter was decided by the General Council. There was simply nothing to write about. This too seems to have offended him deeply. When the issue had to be decided Eccarius sided with the enemies of Sorge. These are 1. a few Frenchmen who, like Malon and Co. in Geneva, wish to be in command just because they are French and some of them were forced to emigrate after the fall of the Commune; 2. followers of Schweitzer (Grosse and Co.); 3. bourgeois Yankees, who are friends of the ladies Woodhull and Claflin, people who have fallen into disrepute because they practise free love, these people publish all sorts of things—on universal government, spiritualism (necromancy à la Home), etc.—except our documents, and now in reply to the resolutions of the General Council they declare that the International in America could achieve something significant only if it *expelled* as many wage slaves as possible, for they would surely be the first to sell themselves to bogus reformers and trading politicians.²¹¹

Sorge and Co. too have made formal blunders, but they must undoubtedly be supported, if the International in America is not to be turned into a purely bourgeois fraudulent society. They are backed by the decent Germans (almost all the Germans), the best Frenchmen and all the Irish.

But our friend Eccarius expected to find a new literary situation in the *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, the organ of Section No. 12, and we are therefore on the damnable side....

May 28. Today news has arrived from America. The separatist Federal Council is in the process of rapid disintegration. Mrs. Woodhull and her Yankee friends in sections Nos. 9 and 12 held a meeting to put her forward as *candidate for the presidency of the United States* and at the same time they drew up a platform which mentions all sort of things, not however capital and labour. They moreover made themselves frightfully ridiculous. That went too far. The Lassalleian Section No. 6 has dismissed Grosse, its delegate, submitted to the decisions of the General Council and sent a delegate to Sorge's Federal Council.

Section No. 2, the very worst of the French ones, has also left the separatist Council. Six other sections are about to follow suit. Further details will be published in the next number of the *Eastern Post*. You see what sort of people Eccarius has found over there, *all* his private correspondents, Maddock, West, Elliott, etc., were present and spoke at the Woodhull meeting....

MARX TO LUDWIG KUGELMANN
IN HANOVER

London, May 18, 1874

...Our Party in the United States has to struggle against great difficulties, partly of an economic, partly of a political nature, but it is forging ahead. The greatest obstacle are the professional politicians over there, who always try to falsify every new movement and to transform it into a new "promotion business"....

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, September 12-17, 1874

...With your resignation the *old* International is anyhow entirely wound up and at an end. And that is well. It belonged to the period of the Second Empire, during which the oppression reigning throughout Europe prescribed unity and abstention from all internal polemics to the workers' movement, then just reawakening. It was the moment when the common cosmopolitan interests of the proletariat could come to the fore. Germany, Spain, Italy and Denmark had only just come into the movement or were just coming into it. In 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very vague everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses—in real life. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party. Proudhonism²¹² was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobbyhorses, Bakunin's new rubbish did not even exist in his own head, and even the leaders of the English Trade Unions thought they could join the movement on the basis of the programme laid down in the Preamble to the Rules. The first great success was bound to explode this naive conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was undoubtedly the child of the Inter-

national intellectually—although the International did not lift a finger to produce it—and in this respect the International was quite properly held responsible for it. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row began at once. Every trend wanted to exploit the success for itself. Disintegration, which was inevitable, set in. Jealousy of the growing power of the only people who were really ready to continue working along the lines of the old comprehensive programme—the German Communists—drove the Belgian Proudhonists into the arms of the Bakuninist adventurers. The Hague Congress was actually the end—and for both parties. The only country where something could still be accomplished in the name of the International was America, and by a happy instinct the executive was transferred there. Now its prestige is exhausted there, too, and any further effort to galvanise it into new life would be folly and a waste of energy. The International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies—for ten years and can look back upon its work with pride. But in its old form it has outlived its usefulness. In order to produce a new International after the fashion of the old, and alliance of all proletarian parties of all countries, a general suppression of the labour movement, like that which prevailed from 1849-64, would be necessary. For this the proletarian world has now became too big, too extensive. I believe the next International—after Marx's writings have exerted their influence for some years—will be directly communist and will candidly proclaim our principles....

**) The squabbles in New York, which made it impossible for you to remain in the General Council any longer, are just as much a proof as a consequence of the fact that the thing has outlived itself. When circumstances no longer allow a society to act effectively, when it is mainly a question of simply maintaining the bond of association so that it can be used again when an opportunity presents itself, there are always people who cannot adapt themselves to this situation, who are determined to play the busybody, and demand that "something be done", and this something can then only be tomfoolery. And if these people succeed in getting the majority, they compel everyone who does not want to bear the responsibility for their tomfoolery to resign. What a blessing that we did not send the minute books over!...

**MARX TO ENGELS
IN RAMSGATE**

[London,] July 25, 1877

...What do you think of the workers in the United States? This first eruption against the oligarchy of associated capital which has arisen since the Civil War will of course be put down,²¹³ but it could quite well form the starting point for the establishment of a serious labour party in the United States. There are moreover two favourable circumstances. The policy of the new President* will turn the Negroes into allies of the workers, and the large expropriations of land (especially fertile land) in favour of railway, mining, etc., companies will convert the peasants of the West, who are already very disenchanted, into allies of the workers. Thus a fine mess is in the offing over there, and transferring the centre of the International to the United States²¹⁴ might, *post festum*, turn out to have been a peculiarly opportune move....

**ENGELS TO MARX
IN LONDON**

[Ramsgate,] July 31, 1877
2, Adelaide Gardens

...The American strike²¹⁵ has given me much pleasure. They rush into the movement in quite a different way than do the workers on this side of the Atlantic. It is only 12 years since the abolition of slavery and the movement is already so intense!...

****)MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

[London,] October 19, 1877

Apropos. Only a (very) few years ago a sort of Blue Book (whether an official one I don't know) was published on the conditions of the

* Rutherford Birchard Hayes.—Ed.

miners in Pennsylvania,²¹⁶ who live, as we know, in the most feudal dependence upon their money lords (I think the thing was published after a bloody conflict²¹⁷). It is of the greatest importance for me to have this publication, and if you can get it for me I shall send you what it costs. If not, you can perhaps get me the title, and I shall then ask Harney (in Boston).

**MARX TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG**

London, November 15, 1878
41, Maitland Park Road, N.W.

...Le premier pays où les affaires vont suivre la ligne *ascendante*, ce sont les *Etats-Unis* de l'Amérique du Nord. Only this improvement will there set in under conditions altogether altered—for the worse. The people will try in vain to get rid of the monopolising power and the [as far as the *immediate happiness* of the masses is concerned] baneful influence of the great companies swaying industry, commerce, property in land, railroads, finance—at an always accelerated rate since the outbreak of the Civil War. The best Yankee writers are loud in proclaiming the stubborn fact that, if the Anti-Slavery war has broken the chains of the black, it has on the other hand enslaved the white producers.

The most interesting field for the economist is now certainly to be found in the U. States, and, above all, during the period of 1873 (since the crash in September) until 1878—the period of chronic crisis. Transformations—which to be elaborated did require in England centuries—were here realised in a few years. But the observer must look not to the older States on the Atlantic, but to the newer ones (*Ohio* is a striking example) and the newest (*California* f.i.).

The imbeciles in Europe who fancy that theoreticians like myself and others are at the root of the evil, might learn a wholesome lesson by reading the *official* Yankee reports....

Written in English

**MARX TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG**

London, April 10, 1879

...The railways sprang up first as the "*couronnement de l'œuvre*" in those countries where *modern industry was most developed*, England, United States, Belgium, France, etc. I call them the "*couronnement de l'œuvre*" not only in the sense that they were at last (together with steamships for oceanic intercourse and the telegraphs) *the means of communication* adequate to the modern means of production, but also insofar as they were the basis of the immense joint-stock companies, forming at the same time a new starting point for all *other sorts* of joint-stock companies, to commence with banking companies. They gave in one word an impetus never before suspected to the *concentration of capital* and also to the accelerated and immensely enlarged *cosmopolitan activity of loanable capital*, thus embracing the whole world in a network of financial swindling and mutual *indebtedness*, the capitalistic form of "international" brotherhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of the railway system in the leading states of capitalism allowed, and even forced, states where capitalism was confined to a few summits of society, to suddenly create and enlarge their capitalistic *superstructure* in dimensions altogether disproportionate to the bulk of the social body, carrying on the great work of production in the traditional modes. There is, therefore, not the least doubt that in those states the railway creation has accelerated the social and political disintegration, as in the more advanced states it hastened the final development, and therefore the final change, of capitalistic production. In all states, except England, the governments enriched and fostered the railway companies at the expense of the public Exchequer. In the United States to their profit a great part of the public land they received as a present, not only the land necessary for the construction of the lines, but many miles of land along both sides the lines, covered with forests, etc. They became so the greatest landlords, the small immigrating farmers preferring of course lands so situated as to ensure their produce ready means of transport....

It is, to conclude with this my letter (since the time for putting it to post draws nearer and nearer), impossible to find real analogies between the United States and Russia. In the former the expenses of the Government diminish daily and its public debt is quickly and yearly reduced; in the latter public bankruptcy is a goal more and more appearing to become unavoidable. The former has freed itself (although in a most

infamous way for the advantage of the creditors and at the expense of the *menu peuple*) of its paper money, the latter has no more flourishing fabric than that of paper money. In the former the concentration of capital and the gradual expropriation of the masses is not only the vehicle, but also the natural offspring (though artificially accelerated by the Civil War) of an unprecedentedly rapid industrial development, agricultural progress, etc.; the latter reminds you rather of the times of Louis XIV and Louis XV, where the financial, commercial, industrial superstructure, or rather the *façades* of the social edifice, looked (although they had a much more solid foundation than in Russia) like a satire upon the stagnant state of the bulk of production (the agricultural one) and the famine of the producers. The United States have at present much overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they still lag behind in the extent of acquired wealth, but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands, to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense. I need not prolong the antitheses....

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 298 and 299-300

****)MARX TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

[London,] November 5, 1880
41, Maitland Park Road, N.W.

...I should be very glad if you could find me something good (meaty) on economic conditions in *California*, of course at my expense. California is very important for me because nowhere else was the transformation which was brought about by capitalist centralisation carried through so shamelessly and with so much hurry.

**MARX TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG**

London, February 19, 1881

In the *United States* the railway kings have become the butt of attacks, not only, as before this, on the part of the farmers and other

industrial "entrepreneurs" of the *West*, but also on the part of the grand representative of commerce—the *New York Chamber of Commerce*. The Octopus railway king and financial swindler *Gould* has, on his side, told the New York commercial magnates:

You now attack the railways, because you think them most vulnerable considering their present unpopularity; but take heed: after the railways every sort of corporation (means in the Yankee dialect *joint stock company*) will have its turn; then, later on, all forms of associated capital; finally all forms of capital; you are thus paving the way to—*Communism* whose tendencies are already more and more spreading among the people.

M. Gould "*a le flair bon*".*

Written in English

ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH

[London, June 26, 1882]

...After the American Civil War *Fenianism*²¹⁸ arose between these two movements.** Hundreds of thousands of Irish soldiers and officers who fought in this war did so with the secret thought of preparing an army for the liberation of Ireland. The Fenians regarded the conflicts between America and England after the war as their principal expedient. If war broke out, Ireland would in a few months become a member of the United States, or at any rate a republic under its protection. The damages fixed by the Geneva court of arbitration in the Alabama affair,²¹⁹ which England so willingly accepted and paid, was the price for *American non-intervention in Ireland*.

The main danger was eliminated from that moment. The police were sufficient to cope with the Fenians. Treachery, which is unavoidable in any conspiracy, was a contributory factor, but the betraying was done only by *leaders* and afterwards they became actual spies and false witnesses. The leaders who escaped to America played at revolution in exile and went to the dogs, as did O'Donovan Rossa. To people who have seen the European emigration here between 1849 and 1852, all this is familiar, except of course that it takes place on an exaggerated American scale.

* Monsieur Gould has a keen scent.—*Ed.*

** The reference is to the trends in the Irish movement: the agrarian trend and the liberal national opposition of the urban bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

Many Fenians have undoubtedly returned now and have revived the old military organisation. They constitute an important element of the movement and force the liberals to act more resolutely. But otherwise they achieve nothing, apart from frightening John Bull. The latter gets noticeably weaker on the periphery of his empire, but so near home he is still able to put down easily any Irish revolt. There are first 14,000 men of the "constabulary", police armed with rifle and bayonet and militarily trained, in Ireland. Then some 30,000 troops of the line, who can easily be reinforced by a similar number of troops of the line and English militia. In addition there is the fleet. And John Bull's brutality when suppressing uprisings is unequalled. *No Irish uprising has the least chance of success unless there is a foreign war or the threat of such a war. Only two powers can become dangerous in this context—France and to a far larger extent the United States.* France can be counted out. The parties in America flirt with the Irish voters and make various promises, but do not carry out any of them. They have not the least intention of getting involved in a war about Ireland. It is even in their interest that there should be conditions in Ireland likely to cause a large Irish immigration into America. And it is understandable that a country which in twenty years' time will be the most populous, the richest and the most powerful country in the world is not greatly inclined to rush into adventures which can and must interfere with its tremendous domestic development. In twenty years' time it will speak quite a different language.

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN LEIPZIG

London, December 22, 1882

...It seems to me that the crisis in America—just as the one here and as the depressed state of the German industry, which has not yet been overcome everywhere—is not a real crisis, but the after-effect of the overproduction left behind by the last crisis. The last crash was brought on prematurely in Germany by the swindle involving thousands of millions, it occurred here and in America at the normal time, 1877. There was never a period of prosperity when the productive forces were increased to such an extent as between 1871 and 1877, hence chronic pressure is exerted, in the same way as between 1837 and 1842, on the major industries, especially cotton and iron, here and in Germany, and the markets are still unable to digest all the output. Since American industry continues to produce mainly for the protected home market,

the rapid increase in production can easily cause a local intermediate crisis over there, but in the end it will merely help to reduce the period of time America needs to become an exporter and to enter the world market as Britain's most dangerous rival. I therefore do not believe, and Marx is of the same opinion, that the real crisis will occur long before its proper time....

Frederick Engels

1883 TO 1895

F r e d e r i c k E n g e l s

From APPENDIX TO THE AMERICAN EDITION
OF THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS
IN ENGLAND

But while England has thus outgrown the juvenile state of capitalist exploitation described by me, other countries have only just attained it. France, Germany, and especially America, are the formidable competitors who at this moment—as foreseen by me in 1844—are more and more breaking up England's industrial monopoly. Their manufactures are young as compared with those of England, but increasing at a far more rapid rate than the latter; but curious enough, they have at this moment arrived at about the same phase of development as English manufacture in 1844. With regard to America, the parallel is indeed most striking. True, the external surroundings in which the working class is placed in America are very different, but the same economical laws are at work, and the results, if not identical in every respect, must still be of the same order. Hence we find in America the same struggles for a shorter working-day, for a legal limitation of the working time, especially of women and children in factories; we find the truck-system in full blossom, and the cottage-system, in rural districts, made use of by the "bosses" as a means of domination over the workers. At this very moment I am receiving the American papers with accounts of the great strike of 12,000 Pennsylvanian coal-miners in the Connellesville district, and I seem but to read my own description of the North of England Colliers' strike of 1844.²²⁰ The same cheating of the work-people by false measure; the same truck-system; the same attempt to break the miners' resistance by the Capitalists' last, but crushing resource, the eviction of the men out of their dwellings, the cottages owned by the companies.

There were two circumstances which for a long time prevented the unavoidable consequences of the capitalist system from showing themselves in the full glare of day in America. These were the easy access to the ownership of cheap land, and the influx of immigration. They allowed, for many years, the great mass of the native American population to "retire" in early manhood from wage-labor and to become farmers, dealers, or employers of labor, while the hard work for wages, the position of a proletarian for life, mostly fell to the lot of immigrants. But America has outgrown this early stage. The boundless backwoods have disappeared, and the still more boundless prairies are fast and faster passing from the hands of the Nation and the states into

those of private owners. The great safety-valve against the formation of a permanent proletarian class has practically ceased to act. A class of life-long and even hereditary proletarians exists at this hour in America. A nation of sixty million striving hard to become—and with every chance of success, too—the leading manufacturing nation of the world—such a nation cannot permanently import its own wage-working class; not even if immigrants pour in at the rate of half a million a year. The tendency of the capitalist system towards the ultimate splitting-up of society into two classes, a few millionaires on the one hand, and a great mass of mere wage-workers on the other, this tendency, though constantly crossed and counteracted by other social agencies, works nowhere with greater force than in America; and the result has been the production of a class of native American wage-workers, who form, indeed, the aristocracy of the wage-working class as compared with the immigrants, but who become conscious more and more every day of their solidarity with the latter and who feel all the more acutely their present condemnation to life-long wage-toil, because they still remember the bygone days, when it was comparatively easy to rise to a higher social level. Accordingly the working-class movement, in America, has started with truly American vigor, and as on that side of the Atlantic things march with at least double the European speed, we may yet live to see America take the lead in this respect too.

Written on February 25, 1886

Reproduced from the book

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F. Engels, *The Condition of
the Working Class in England
in 1844*, New York, 1887

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION OF THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND²²¹

Ten months have elapsed since, at the translator's* wish, I wrote the Appendix** to this book; and during these ten months, a revolution has been accomplished in American society such as, in any other country, would have taken at least ten years. In February 1885, American public opinion was almost unanimous on this one point; that there was no working class, in the European sense of the word, in America***; that consequently no class struggle between workmen and capitalists, such as tore European society to pieces, was possible in the American Republic; and that, therefore, Socialism was a thing of foreign importation which could never take root on American soil. And yet, at that moment, the coming class struggle was casting its gigantic shadow before it in the strikes of the Pennsylvania coal-miners,²²⁴ and of many other trades, and especially in the preparations, all over the country, for the great Eight Hours' movement which was to come off, and did come off, in the May following.²²⁵ That I then duly appreciated these symptoms, that I anticipated a working-class movement on a national scale, my "Appendix" shows; but no one could then foresee that in such a short time the movement would burst out with such irresistible force, would spread with the rapidity of a prairie-fire, would shake American society to its very foundations.

The fact is there, stubborn and indisputable. To what an extent it had struck with terror the American ruling classes, was revealed to me, in an amusing way, by American journalists who did me the honor of calling on me last summer; the "new departure" had put them into a

* Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky.—Ed.

** See pp. 281-82 of this book.—Ed.

*** An English edition of my book, which was written in 1844, was justified precisely because the industrial conditions in present-day America correspond almost exactly to those which obtained in England in the 1840s, i.e., those which I described. How much this is the case is evident from the articles on "The Labour Movement in America" by Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling published in the March, April, May and June issues of *Time*, the London monthly.²²² I am referring to these excellent articles with all the greater pleasure because it offers me an opportunity at the same time to reject the miserable slanderous accusations against Aveling which the Executive of the American Socialist Labour Party was unscrupulous enough to circulate.²²³ [Engels' note to the separate printing of 1887. Translated from the German.]

state of helpless fright and perplexity. But at that time the movement was only just on the start; there was but a series of confused and apparently disconnected upheavals of that class which, by the suppression of negro slavery and the rapid development of manufactures, had become the lowest stratum of American Society. Before the year closed, these bewildering social convulsions began to take a definite direction. The spontaneous, instinctive movements of these vast masses of working people, over a vast extent of country, the simultaneous outburst of their common discontent with a miserable social condition, the same everywhere and due to the same causes, made them conscious of the fact, that they formed a new and distinct class of American society; a class of—practically speaking—more or less hereditary wage-workers, proletarians. And with true American instinct this consciousness led them at once to take the next step towards their deliverance: the formation of a political workingmen's party, with a platform of its own, and with the conquest of the Capitol and the White House for its goal. In May the struggle for the Eight Hours' working-day, the troubles in Chicago, Milwaukee, etc., the attempts of the ruling class to crush the nascent uprising of Labor by brute force and brutal class-justice; in November the new Labor Party organized in all great centers, and the New York, Chicago and Milwaukee elections.²²⁶ May and November have hitherto reminded the American bourgeoisie only of the payment of coupons of US bonds; henceforth May and November will remind them, too, of the dates on which the American working class presented their coupons for payment.

In European countries, it took the working class years and years before they fully realized the fact that they formed a distinct and, under the existing social conditions, a permanent class of modern society; and it took years again until this class-consciousness led them to form themselves into a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling classes. On the more favored soil of America, where no mediaeval ruins bar the way, where history begins with the elements of modern bourgeois society as evolved in the seventeenth century, the working class passed through these two stages of its development within ten months.

Still, all this is but a beginning. That the laboring masses should feel their community of grievances and of interests, their solidarity as a class in opposition to all other classes; that in order to give expression and effect to this feeling, they should set in motion the political machinery provided for that purpose in every free country—that is the first step only. The next step is to find the common remedy for these common grievances, and to embody it in the platform of the new Labor Party. And this—the most important and the most difficult step in the move-

ment—has yet to be taken in America.

A new party must have a distinct positive platform; a platform which may vary in details as circumstances vary and as the party itself develops, but still one upon which the party, for the time being, is agreed. So long as such a platform has not been worked out, or exists but in a rudimentary form, so long the new party, too, will have but a rudimentary existence; it may exist locally but not yet nationally; it will be a party potentially but not actually.

That platform, whatever may be its first initial shape, must develop in a direction which may be determined beforehand. The causes that brought into existence the abyss between the working class and the capitalist class are the same in America as in Europe; the means of filling up that abyss are equally the same everywhere. Consequently, the platform of the American proletariat will in the long run coincide, as to the ultimate end to be attained, with the one which, after sixty years of dissensions and discussions, has become the adopted platform of the great mass of the European militant proletariat. It will proclaim, as the ultimate end, the conquest of political supremacy by the working class, in order to effect the direct appropriation of all means of production—land, railways, mines, machinery, etc.—by society at large, to be worked in common by all for the account and benefit of all.

But if the new American party, like all political parties everywhere, by the very fact of its formation aspires to the conquest of political power, it is as yet far from agreed upon what to do with that power when once attained. In New York and the other great cities of the East, the organisation of the working class has proceeded upon the lines of Trades' Societies, forming in each city a powerful Central Labor Union. In New York the Central Labor Union, last November, chose for its standard-bearer Henry George, and consequently its temporary electoral platform has been largely imbued with his principles. In the great cities of the North-west the electoral battle was fought upon a rather indefinite labor platform, and the influence of Henry George's theories was scarcely, if at all, visible. And while in these great centers of population and of industry the new class movement came to a political head, we find all over the country two widespread labor organizations: the "Knights of Labor"²²⁷ and the "Socialist Labor Party", of which only the latter has a platform in harmony with the modern European standpoint as summarised above.

Of the three more or less definite forms under which the American labor movement thus presents itself, the first, the Henry George movement in New York, is for the moment of a chiefly local significance. No doubt New York is by far the most important city of the States; but New York is not Paris and the United States are not France. And it seems to me that the Henry George platform, in its present shape, is too

narrow to form the basis for anything but a local movement, or at best for a short-lived phase of the general movement. To Henry George, the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land is the great and universal cause of the splitting up of the people into Rich and Poor. Now this is not quite correct historically. In Asiatic and classical antiquity, the predominant form of class oppression was slavery, that is to say, not so much the expropriation of the masses from the land as the appropriation of their persons. When, in the decline of the Roman Republic, the free Italian peasants were expropriated from their farms, they formed a class of "poor whites" similar to that of the Southern Slave States before 1861; and between slaves and poor whites, two classes equally unfit for self-emancipation, the old world went to pieces. In the Middle Ages, it was not the expropriation of the people *from*, but on the contrary, their appropriation *to* the land which became the source of feudal oppression. The peasant retained his land, but was attached to it as a serf or villein, and made liable to tribute to the lord in labor and in produce. It was only at the dawn of modern times, towards the end of the fifteenth century, that the expropriation of the peasantry on a large scale laid the foundation for the modern class of wage-workers who possess nothing but their labor-power and can live only by the selling of that labor-power to others. But if the expropriation from the land brought this class into existence, it was the development of capitalist production, of modern industry and agriculture on a large scale which perpetuated it, increased it, and shaped it into a distinct class with distinct interests and a distinct historical mission. All this has been fully expounded by Marx (*Capital*, Part VIII: "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation"). According to Marx, the cause of the present antagonism of the classes and of the social degradation of the working class is their expropriation from *all* means of production, in which the land is of course included.

If Henry George declares land-monopolization to be the sole cause of poverty and misery, he naturally finds the remedy in the resumption of the land by society at large. Now, the Socialists of the school of Marx, too, demand the resumption, by society, of the land, and not only of the land but of all other means of production likewise. But even if we leave these out of the question, there is another difference. What is to be done with the land? Modern Socialists, as represented by Marx, demand that it should be held and worked in common and for common account, and the same with all other means of social production, mines, railways, factories, etc.; Henry George would confine himself to letting it out to individuals as at present, merely regulating its distribution and applying the rents for public, instead of, as at present, for private purposes. What the Socialists demand, implies a total revolution of the whole system of social production; what Henry George demands, leaves

the present mode of social production untouched, and has, in fact, been anticipated by the extreme section of Ricardian bourgeois economists who, too, demanded the confiscation of the rent of land by the State.

It would of course be unfair to suppose that Henry George has said his last word once for all. But I am bound to take his theory as I find it.

The second great section of the American movement is formed by the Knights of Labor. And that seems to be the section most typical of the present state of the movement, as it is undoubtedly by far the strongest. An immense association spread over an immense extent of country in innumerable "assemblies", representing all shades of individual and local opinion within the working class; the whole of them sheltered under a platform of corresponding indistinctness and held together much less by their impracticable constitution than by the instinctive feeling that the very fact of their clubbing together for their common aspiration makes them a great power in the country; a truly American paradox clothing the most modern tendencies in the most mediaeval mummeries, and hiding the most democratic and even rebellious spirit behind an apparent, but really powerless despotism—such is the picture the Knights of Labor offer to a European observer. But if we are not arrested by mere outside whimsicalities, we cannot help seeing in this vast agglomeration an immense amount of potential energy evolving slowly but surely into actual force. The Knights of Labor are the first national organisation created by the American working class as a whole; whatever be their origin and history, whatever their shortcomings and little absurdities, whatever their platform and their constitution, here they are, the work of practically the whole class of American wage-workers, the only national bond that holds them together, that makes their strength felt to themselves not less than to their enemies, and that fills them with the proud hope of future victories. For it would not be exact to say that the Knights of Labor are liable to development. They are constantly in full process of development and revolution; a heaving, fermenting mass of plastic material seeking the shape and form appropriate to its inherent nature. That form will be attained as surely as historical evolution has, like natural evolution, its own immanent laws. Whether the Knights of Labor will then retain their present name or not, makes no difference, but to an outsider it appears evident that here is the raw material out of which the future of the American working-class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped.

The third section consists of the Socialist Labor Party. This section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it, up to now, been

able actually to take its stand as a political party. It is, moreover, to a certain extent foreign to America, having until lately been made up almost exclusively by German immigrants, using their own language and for the most part, little conversant with the common language of the country. But if it came from a foreign stock, it came, at the same time, armed with the experience earned during long years of class struggle in Europe, and with an insight into the general conditions of working-class emancipation, far superior to that hitherto gained by American workingmen. This is a fortunate circumstance for the American proletarians who thus are enabled to appropriate, and to take advantage of, the intellectual and moral fruits of the forty years' struggle of their European class-mates, and thus to hasten on the time of their own victory. For, as I said before, there cannot be any doubt that the ultimate platform of the American working class must and will be essentially the same as that now adopted by the whole militant working class of Europe, the same as that of the German-American Socialist Labor Party. In so far this party is called upon to play a very important part in the movement. But in order to do so they will have to doff every remnant of their foreign garb. They will have to become out and out American. They cannot expect the Americans to come to them; they, the minority and the immigrants, must go to the Americans, who are the vast majority and the natives. And to do that, they must above all things learn English.

The process of fusing together these various elements of the vast moving mass—elements not really discordant, but indeed mutually isolated by their various starting-points—will take some time and will not come off without a deal of friction, such as is visible at different points even now. The Knights of Labor, for instance, are here and there, in the Eastern cities, locally at war with the organized Trades Unions. But then this same friction exists within the Knights of Labor themselves, where there is anything but peace and harmony. These are not symptoms of decay, for capitalists to crow over. They are merely signs that the innumerable hosts of workers, for the first time set in motion in a common direction, have as yet found out neither the adequate expression for their common interests, nor the form of organization best adapted to the struggle, nor the discipline required to insure victory. They are as yet the first levies *en masse* of the great revolutionary war, raised and equipped locally and independently, all converging to form one common army, but as yet without regular organization and common plan of campaign. The converging columns cross each other here and there: confusion, angry disputes, even threats of conflict arise. But the community of ultimate purpose in the end overcomes all minor troubles; ere long the straggling and squabbling battalions will be formed in a long line of battle array, presenting to the

enemy a well-ordered front, ominously silent under their glittering arms, supported by bold skirmishers in front and by unshakable reserves in the rear.

To bring about this result, the unification of the various independent bodies into one national Labor Army, with no matter how inadequate a provisional platform, provided it be a truly working-class platform—that is the next great step to be accomplished in America. To effect this, and to make that platform worthy of the cause, the Socialist Labor Party can contribute a great deal, if they will only act in the same way as the European Socialists have acted at the time when they were but a small minority of the working class. That line of action was first laid down in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 in the following words:

"The Communists"—that was the name we took at the time and which even now we are far from repudiating—"the communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from the interests of the whole working class.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and model the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries they point out, and bring to the front, the common interests of the whole proletariat, interests independent of all nationality; 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of all countries, that section which ever pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have, over the great mass of the proletarians, the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

"Thus they fight for the attainment of the immediate ends, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working-class; but in the movement of the present, they represent and take care of the future of the movement."²²⁸

That is the line of action which the great founder of Modern Socialism, Karl Marx, and with him, I and the Socialists of all nations who worked along with us, have followed for more than forty years, with the result that it has led to victory everywhere, and that at this moment the

mass of European Socialists, in Germany and in France, in Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, in Denmark and Sweden as well as in Spain and Portugal, are fighting as one common army under one and the same flag.

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Frederick Engels

Reproduced from the book

F r e d e r i c k E n g e l s

From the PREFACE TO THE PAMPHLET.
KARL MARX, *FREE TRADE*²²⁹

...America was, by the Civil War of 1861, all at once thrown upon her own resources, had to find means how to meet a sudden demand for manufactured goods of all sorts, and could only do so by creating manufactures of her own at home. The war demand ceased with the war; but the new manufactures were there, and had to meet British competition. And the war had ripened, in America, the insight that a nation of thirty-five millions, doubling its numbers in forty years at most, with such immense resources, and surrounded by neighbors that must be for years to come chiefly agriculturalists, that such a nation had the "manifest destiny" to be independent of foreign manufactures for its chief articles of consumption, and to be so in time of peace as well as in time of war. And then America turned protectionist.

It may now be fifteen years ago, I travelled in a railway carriage with an intelligent Glasgow merchant, interested, probably, in the iron trade. Talking about America, he treated me to the old Free Trade lucubrations: "Was it not inconceivable that a nation of sharp business men like the Americans should pay tribute to indigenous iron masters and manufacturers, when they could buy the same, if not a better article, ever so much cheaper in this country?" And then he gave me examples as to how much the Americans taxed themselves in order to enrich a few greedy iron masters. "Well," I replied, "I think there is another side to the question. You know that in coal, water-power, iron and other ores, cheap food, home-grown cotton and other raw materials, America has resources and advantages unequalled by any European country; and that these resources cannot be fully developed except by America becoming a manufacturing country. You will admit, too, that nowadays a great nation like the Americans cannot exist on agriculture alone; that that would be tantamount to a condemnation to permanent barbarism and inferiority; no great nation can live, in our age, without manufactures of her own. Well, then, if America must become a manufacturing country, and if she has every chance of not only succeeding, but even outstripping her rivals, there are two ways open to her: either to carry on, for let us say fifty years, under Free Trade an extremely expensive competitive war against English manufactures that have got nearly a hundred years' start; or else to shut out, by protective duties, English manufactures, for say twenty-five years, with the almost

absolute certainty that at the end of the twenty-five years she will be able to hold her own in the open market of the world. Which of the two will be the cheapest and the shortest? That is the question. If you want to go from Glasgow to London, you can take the parliamentary train²³⁰ at a penny a mile and travel at the rate of twelve miles an hour. But you do not; your time is too valuable, you take the express, pay twopence a mile and do forty miles an hour. Very well, the Americans prefer to pay express fare and to go express speed." My Scotch Free Trader had not a word in reply.

Protection, being a means of artificially manufacturing manufacturers, may, therefore, appear useful not only to an incompletely developed capitalist class still struggling with feudalism; it may also give a lift to the rising capitalist class of a country which, like America, has never known feudalism, but which has arrived at that stage of development where the passage from agriculture to manufactures becomes a necessity. America, placed in that situation, decided in favor of protection. Since that decision was carried out, the five and twenty years of which I spoke to my fellow-traveller have about passed, and, if I was not wrong, protection ought to have done its task for America, and ought to be now becoming a nuisance.

That has been my opinion for some time. Nearly two years ago, I said to a protectionist American: "I am convinced that if America goes in for Free Trade she will in ten years have beaten England in the market of the world."

Protection is at best an endless screw, and you never know when you have done with it. By protecting one industry, you directly or indirectly hurt all others, and have therefore to protect them too. By so doing you again damage the industry that you first protected, and have to compensate it; but this compensation reacts, as before, on all other trades, and entitles them to redress, and so on *in infinitum*. America, in this respect, offers us a striking example of the best way to kill an important industry by protection. In 1856, the total imports and exports by sea of the United States amounted to \$641,604,850, of this amount, 75.2 per cent were carried in American, and only 24.8 per cent in foreign vessels. British ocean-steamer were already then encroaching upon American sailing vessels; yet, in 1860, of a total sea-going trade of \$762,288,550, American vessels still carried 66.5 per cent. The Civil War came on, and protection to American ship-building; and the latter plan was so successful that it has nearly completely driven the American flag from the high seas. In 1887 the total sea-going trade of the United States amounted to \$1,408,502,979, but of this total only 13.80 per cent were carried in American, and 86.20 per cent in foreign bottoms. The goods carried by American ships amounted, in 1856, to \$482,268,274; in 1860 to \$507,247,757. In 1887 they had sunk to

\$194,356,746. Forty years ago, the American flag was the most dangerous rival of the British flag, and bade fair to outstrip it on the ocean; now it is nowhere. Protection to ship-building has killed both shipping and ship-building....

To return to America. There are plenty of symptoms that protection has done all it could for the United States, and that the sooner it receives notice to quit, the better for all parties. One of these symptoms is the formation of "rings" and "trusts" within the protected industries for the more thorough exploitation of the monopoly granted to them. Now, "rings" and "trusts" are truly American institutions, and, where they exploit natural advantages, they are generally, though grumbly, submitted to. The transformation of the Pennsylvanian oil supply into a monopoly by the Standard Oil Company is a proceeding entirely in keeping with the rules of capitalist production. But if the sugar-refiners attempt to transform the protection granted them, by the nation, against foreign competition, into a monopoly against the home consumer, that is to say against the same nation that granted the protection, that is quite a different thing. Yet the large sugar-refiners have formed a "trust" which aims at nothing else. And the sugar trust is not the only one of its kind. Now, the formation of such trusts in protected industries is the surest sign that protection has done its work, and is changing its character; that it protects the manufacturer no longer against the foreign importer, but against the home consumer; that it has manufactured, at least in the special branch concerned, quite enough, if not too many manufacturers; that the money it puts into the purse of these manufacturers is money thrown away, exactly as in Germany.

In America, as elsewhere, Protection is bolstered up by the argument that Free Trade will only benefit England. The best proof to the contrary is that in England not only the agriculturists and landlords but even the manufacturers are turning protectionists. In the home of the "Manchester School" of Free Traders, on Nov. 1, 1886, the Manchester chamber of commerce discussed a resolution

"that, having waited in vain forty years for other nations to follow the Free Trade example of England, the chamber thinks the time has arrived to reconsider that position".

The resolution was indeed rejected, but by 22 votes against 21! And that happened in the centre of the cotton manufacture, i.e., the only branch of English manufacture whose superiority in the open market seems still undisputed! But, then, even in that special branch inventive genius has passed from England to America. The latest improvements in machinery for spinning and weaving cotton have come, almost all, from America, and Manchester has to adopt them. In industrial inven-

tions of all kinds, America has distinctly taken the lead, while Germany runs England very close for second place.

Written in April and
early May 1888

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Frederick Engels

[IMPRESSIONS OF A JOURNEY TO AMERICA²³¹]

As a rule we think that America is a new world, new not only because of the date of its discovery but also because all its institutions are far in advance of those we antiquated sluggish Europeans have; we assume that an entirely new world has been built on virgin soil by modern men, who disdaining everything handed down and traditional are guided solely by up-to-date, practical, rational principles. And the Americans for their part help to confirm this view. They look down on us with disdain and regard us as cautious, unpractical people in the grip of various traditional prejudices, who are fearful of all that is new, whereas they, the most go-ahead nation, simply examine every proposed improvement to see what practical advantage it has, and when its usefulness is recognised it is introduced immediately, almost from one day to the other. Thus in America everything ought to be new, rational, practical, in other words different from what it is over here.

It was on the steamship *City of Berlin* that for the first time I encountered a fairly large number of Americans. These ladies and gentlemen were on the whole rather nice people, more affable than the English and their language was sometimes a little blunt, but otherwise they were rather similar to the better dressed people anywhere. What may perhaps have distinguished them was a peculiarly petty-bourgeois attitude, not that of the timid and diffident German petty bourgeois, nor that of the English—it was an attitude which by the very aplomb with which it manifested itself, as if it were something taken for granted, showed that it was a hereditary trait. The younger ladies in particular appeared to be rather naive, a naivety which in Europe can only be found in the smaller towns. When they strode resolutely, almost impetuously along the deck arm in arm in groups of two or escorted by a man, they had the same buoyant gait and held on to their skirts—menaced by the force of the wind—with the same demure gesture as that of the unsophisticated country girl over here. They reminded me mainly of Swedish women, they too are tall and robust, and I constantly expected them to curtsey, as the Swedish women do. A good deal of the physical and mental awkwardness, which is the general heritage of the Germanic race, had also devolved on my American fellow-travellers and they had by no means overcome it. In short, at first sight I certainly did not gain the impression that the Americans as a nation were

superior to us Europeans, nor that they represented an entirely new and youthful national type, but on the contrary that these people clung to traditional petty-bourgeois customs which were regarded as out of date in Europe, and that in this respect the position of Europeans in relation to them was similar to that of Parisians in relation to provincials.

When I entered my first bedroom in New York, what did I find? Furniture of the most antiquated form imaginable, chests of drawers with brass rings or bows as handles for the drawers of a type fashionable at the beginning of the century, and which can be found in Europe only in the countryside, in addition there were also pieces of furniture of somewhat newer, English or French design, but even these were rather aged and usually stood in the wrong place. There was nothing more modern than the huge rocking-chair which describes an arc of 240 degrees and which is no longer in vogue. And it was the same everywhere, chairs, tables and cupboards usually look like heirlooms of bygone generations. The carts on the New York streets look so old-fashioned that at the first glance one is convinced that no European farm still possesses such a type of rack-wagon. Closer inspection, however, shows that these carts have been greatly improved, are very suitably equipped, have excellent springs and are extremely light as they are built of very strong wood, but notwithstanding all these improvements the old-fashioned form has remained unaltered. At the beginning of the forties, there were still hackney-carriages in London, which one entered from the back and where people sat along the right and left hand sides facing one another as in a bus, since 1850 they have disappeared. But in Boston, as far as I know the only American city where hackney-carriages are actually in use, these old bone-shakers are flourishing even now. The entire plan of the present-day American inns, with their luxurious equipment and their hundreds of rooms, show that they are derived from the out-of-the-way farmhouse in a sparsely populated region, where even today the traveller will occasionally be given shelter and food for payment—I shall return to this later—these inns therefore have peculiar features, which seem to us not only strange but definitely antiquated. And so on.

But if someone wants to enjoy a journey of the kind people in Europe undertook at the time of the Thirty Years' War,²³² let him go by railway to the end of the line in an American mountainous region and drive from there in a stage-coach further into the wilderness. Four of us made such a trip through the Adirondacks, and we rarely laughed as heartily as we did while travelling on the roof of that coach. The vehicle was an old bone-shaker—compared with it the famous Prussian coaches in the days of yore were sumptuous—of an indescribable form, with seats for six to nine persons on the roof and box, and the seats

were accordingly. And as to the road, I beg your pardon, there was no road, it can hardly be called a lane either, there were only two deep old ruts in the sandy mud, uphill, downhill....*

Written at the end of September 1888

* The manuscript ends here.—*Ed.*

From INTRODUCTION TO MARX'S
THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

From the very outset the Commune was compelled to recognise that the working class, once come to power, could not go on managing with the old state machine; that in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment. What had been the characteristic attribute of the former state? Society had created its own organs to look after its common interests, originally through simple division of labour. But these organs, at whose head was the state power, had in the course of time, in pursuance of their own special interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into the masters of society. This can be seen, for example, not only in the hereditary monarchy, but equally so in the democratic republic. Nowhere do "politicians" form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate on seats in the legislative assemblies of the Union as well as of the separate states or who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions. It is well known how the Americans have been trying for thirty years to shake off this yoke, which has become intolerable, and how in spite of it all they continue to sink ever deeper in this swamp of corruption. It is precisely in America that we see best how there takes place this process of the state power making itself independent in relation to society, whose mere instrument it was originally intended to be. Here there exists no dynasty, no nobility, no standing army, beyond the few men keeping watch on the Indians, no bureaucracy with permanent posts or the right to pensions. And nevertheless we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends—and the nation is powerless against these two

great cartels of politicians, who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality dominate and plunder it.

Written on March 18, 1891

Published in *Die Neue Zeit*,
Bd. 2, No. 28, 1890-91

Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*
in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow,
1973, pp. 187-88

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN AMERICA²³³

The ancient world was ruled by fate, *εῆμαρμένη*, by inescapable enigmatic destiny. Thus the Greeks and Romans called that incomprehensible omnipotent force that nullified all human endeavours and aspirations and caused all human actions to lead to results quite different from those intended; that irresistible power that has since been referred to as providence, predestination, etc. That mysterious force has gradually assumed a more comprehensible form, and we are indebted for this to the rule of the bourgeoisie and of capital, the first kind of class rule that tried to understand the determinants and conditions of its own existence and thereby made it possible to grasp the inevitability of its own approaching destruction. Destiny or providence, as we now know, means the economic conditions under which people produce and exchange, and at present these are epitomised in the *world market*.

The significance of the American presidential election is due to the fact that it is an event of first-rate importance for the world market.

An article of mine on protective tariff and free trade was published in English in Boston and in German in Stuttgart four years ago.* In it I showed that England's industrial monopoly is incompatible with the economic development of the other civilised countries, that the protective tariffs introduced in America after the Civil War demonstrated the determination of the Americans to throw off the yoke of this monopoly, and that thanks to the huge natural resources and the intellectual and moral abilities of the Americans, this has been accomplished and protective tariffs have become in America, no less than in Germany, fetters on industry. Then I said, if America introduces free trade, it will beat England on the world market in ten years' time.

Well, the presidential election of November 8, 1892, has prepared the way for free trade. Protective tariff in the form given it by McKinley has become an intolerable fetter. The preposterous increase in the price of all imported raw material and food, which in turn affects the price of many domestic products, has to a large extent excluded American industry from the world market, at a time when the home market has already been suffering from a glut of American industrial commodities. As a matter of fact, during the last few years the

protective tariff has merely helped to ruin the small producers owing to the pressure of the large producers combined in cartels and trusts, and permitted the latter, that is the organised monopolists, to exploit the market and thus the American consumers. America can only escape from its permanent industrial crisis, brought about by the protective tariff, if it enters the world market, and to do that it has to liberate itself from the protective tariff, at any rate in its present absurd form. That it is determined to do so is shown by the complete reversal of public opinion which became evident during the election. Once it is established on the world market, America will be driven—as is England and by England—irresistibly along the course of free trade.

We shall then witness a quite unprecedented industrial struggle. English products, especially textiles and iron goods, will have to fight against American commodities in every market, and in the end they will succumb. Even now English cotton and linen cloth is ousted by American goods. Do you want to know who worked the miracle of transforming the cotton workers of Lancashire from fierce enemies of the legal Eight Hour Day into ardent supporters of this measure in the short space of a year? In that case read p. 56 of the *Neue Zeit* No. 2, October 1892, and you will discover that American cotton and linen goods are gradually eliminating English fabrics from the Chinese market, and that since 1881 English imports never reached the level of the American imports and in 1891 only amounted to roughly one-third of the latter.²³⁴ And apart from India, China is the most important market for such cloth.

This is another piece of evidence indicating that with the turn of the century all relationships will change. If the centre of gravity of the textile and iron industries is moved from England to America, England will either become a second Holland, a country whose bourgeoisie lives on its former greatness and whose proletariat is wasting, or it will reorganise itself in a socialist way. The former alternative is not possible, the English proletariat would not put up with it, it is far too numerous and too advanced for that. There remains therefore only the second alternative. *The abolition of protective tariffs in America signifies in the long run the victory of socialism in England.*

Written between November 9
and 15, 1892

Published in the *Vorwärts* No. 269,
November 16, 1892

* Engels, "Schutzzoll und Freihandel", *Neue Zeit*, July 1888.—Ed.

**) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, June 29, 1883

...He [Schewitsch] will not receive a reply. Nor will Most, who is obliged to confirm everything I have said²³⁵ and for that very reason he is so furious. I believe he will find supporters in America, that sectarian country, and cause confusion for some time. But it is characteristic of the American movement that it has to go through all mistakes in practice. If American energy and vitality were backed by European theoretical understanding, the thing could be accomplished over there in ten years. But that is impossible for historical reasons....

ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN LEIPZIG

London, January 18, 1884

...Here, too, industry has taken on a different character. The ten-year cycle seems to have been disrupted now that, since 1870, American and German competition have been putting an end to English monopoly in the world market. In the main branches of industry business has been in a depressed state since 1868, with production increasing only slowly; and now we seem both here and in America to be on the verge of a new crisis which in England has not been preceded by a period of prosperity. That is the secret of the present sudden emergence of a socialist movement here, sudden—though it has been slowly preparing for three years. So far the organised workers—Trade Unions—still remain quite remote from it, the movement is forging ahead among “edicated” elements sprung from the bourgeoisie, who here and there seek contact with the masses and in places find it. These people are of greatly varying moral and intellectual value and it will take some time before they sort themselves out and the position becomes clear. But things will scarcely again subside completely. Henry George with his nationalisation of the land is likely to play a meteoric role,²³⁶ because this point here is of importance traditionally, and also actually on account of the vast extent of big landed property. But in the long run

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attention will not be concentrated on this point alone in the foremost industrial country in the world. Henry George, moreover, is a genuine bourgeois and *his* plan of defraying all governmental expenditures out of rent of land is only a repetition of the plan of the *Ricardo* school, that is purely bourgeois....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 346

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN HEIDELBERG

London, February 10, 1885
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

I herewith return Mr. Putnam's letter—of course it would be a splendid success if we could secure publication* by that firm—but I am afraid Mr. P. will stick to his objections the great strength of which, from a publisher's standpoint, I fully recognise. Perhaps the fact that a new German edition of my work is in actual preparation, may shake him a little. My friends in Germany say that the book is important to them just now because it describes a state of things which is almost exactly reproduced at the present moment in Germany; and as the development of manufacturing industry, steam and machinery and their social outcrop in the creation of a proletariat, in America corresponds at the present moment as nearly as possible to the English status of 1844 (though your go-ahead people are sure to outstrip the old world in the next 15-20 years altogether) the comparison of industrial England of 1844 with industrial America of 1885 might have its interest too.

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *On Britain*,
Moscow, 1962, p. 563

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN ZURICH

London, January 7, 1886
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...As to those wise Americans who think their country exempt from the consequences of fully expanded Capitalist production, they seem to

* Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.—Ed.

live in blissful ignorance of the fact that sundry States, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, etc., have such an institution as a Labor Bureau from the reports of which they might learn something to the contrary.²³⁷

Written in English

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, January 29, 1886

...Give Dietzgen my regards. He has a hard fight, but he will manage.²³⁸ After all, the movement in America is making good headway. It was to be expected that the Anglo-Americans would tackle things in *their* way, contemptuous of reason and science, but they are coming closer none the less. And, in the end, they will get the knack of it. Capitalist centralisation is proceeding over there with seven-league boots, in quite a different way than here....

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN ZURICH**

London, February 3, 1886

...If I am not too often interrupted in the evenings I hope to be able to send you the remainder of the MS. and possibly also the introduction in a fortnight. This latter may be printed either as a preface or as an appendix.* As to the length of it I am utterly incapable of giving you any idea. I shall try to make it as short as possible, especially as it will be useless for me to try to combat arguments of the American press with which I am not even superficially acquainted. Of course if American workingmen will not read their own States Labor Reports,²³⁹ but trust to politician's extracts, nobody can help them. But it strikes me that the present chronic depression, which seems endless so far, will tell its tale in America as well as in England. America will smash up England's industrial monopoly—whatever there is left of it—

* Engels, Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.—Ed.

but America cannot herself succeed to that monopoly. And unless *one* country has the monopoly of the markets of the world at least in the decisive branches of trade, the conditions—relatively favorable—which existed here in England from 1848 to 1870, cannot anywhere be reproduced, and even in America the condition of the working class must gradually sink lower and lower. For if there are three countries (say England, America and Germany) competing on comparatively equal terms for the possession of the *Weltmarkt*, there is no chance but chronic overproduction, one of the three being capable of supplying the whole quantity required. That is the reason why I am watching the development of the present crisis with greater interest than ever and why I believe it will mark an epoch in the mental and political history of the American and English working classes—the very two whose assistance is as absolutely necessary as it is desirable.

Written in English

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, April 29, 1886

...The gentlemen of the *Volkszeitung* must be pleased. They have gained control of the whole movement among the Germans, and their business must be flourishing. That in these circumstances a man like Dietzgen is pushed to the rear is self-evident.²⁴⁰ Playing with the boycott and with small strikes is, of course, much more important than theoretical education. But for all that the cause is moving ahead mightily in America. There is for the first time a real mass movement among the English-speaking workers. That it should at first proceed gropingly, in a clumsy, uncertain, inexperienced manner, is unavoidable. All that will be cleared up; the movement will and must develop through its own mistakes. Theoretical ignorance is a characteristic of all young nations, but so is also rapid practical development. No preaching does any good in America, or in England, until the actual necessity arises. And this necessity exists in America now, and people are becoming aware of it. The fact that masses of native workers are joining the movement in America is for me one of the greatest events of 1886.²⁴¹ As for the Germans over there, even if the sort now flourishing should gradually associate with Americans, they would still be somewhat ahead of them, and, in the end, there will still remain a core among the Germans over there that retains a theoretical understanding of the

nature and the course of the whole movement, keeps the process of fermentation going, and ultimately predominates....

**ENGELS TO WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
IN LEIPZIG**

London, May 12, 1886

...The Chicago affair²⁴² probably spells the end of the anarchist comedy in America. People may shout as much as they like, but as regards futile riots the Americans stand no nonsense since they have become an industrial nation....

**ENGELS TO EDUARD BERNSTEIN
IN ZURICH**

London, May 22, 1886

...The stupidities of the anarchists in America may serve a useful purpose; it is not desirable that the American workers, whose thinking is still entirely at the middle-class stage—high wages and short working hours—should gain results *too rapidly*. That might reinforce the one-track trade union spirit more than necessary....

**ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS**

London, 23 May 1886

...So I do believe, too, that the anarchist follies of Chicago will do much good. If the present American movement—which so far as it is not exclusively German, is still in the Trades Union stage—had got a great victory on the 8 hours question, Trades Unionism would have become a fixed and final dogma. While a *mixed* result will help to show them that it is necessary to go beyond “high wages and short hours.”

Written in English
Frederick Engels,
Paul and Laura Lafargue,
Correspondence, Vol. 1,
Moscow, 1959, p. 355

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN ZURICH**

[London,] June 3, 1886
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Whatever the mistakes and the *Borniertheit** of the leaders of the movement, and partly of the newly awakening masses too, one thing is certain: the American working class is moving, and no mistake. And after a few false starts, they will get into the right track soon enough. This appearance of the Americans upon the scene I consider one of the greatest events of the year.²⁴³ What the downbreak of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe—the snapping of their mainstay—that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois; a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, *as yet*, classes with opposing interests, our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood *above* class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place. The way in which they have made their appearance on the scene is quite extraordinary: six months ago nobody suspected anything, and now they appear all of a sudden in such organised masses as to strike terror into the whole capitalist class. I only wish Marx could have lived to see it!...

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 371-72

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN ZURICH**

Eastbourne, August 13-14, 1886
4, Cavendish Place

...To return to the *Ursprung*.²⁴⁴ I do not mean to say that I have absolutely promised Aveling to let him have it, but I consider myself

* Narrow-mindedness.—Ed.

bound to him in case a translation is to come out in *London*. The final decision then would depend very much upon the nature of the publishing arrangements you can make in America. To a repetition of what Miss F[oster] has done with *Die Lage** I decidedly object. When I see my way to an English edition, brought out by a firm in the bourgeois trade, and not only of this book, but probably of a collection of various other writings, with the advantage of having the translation done here (which saves me a deal of time) you will admit that I ought to look twice before sanctioning the bringing out in America of this little book alone and thereby spoiling the whole arrangement. And with the present anti-socialist scare in America, I doubt whether you will find regular publishers very willing to associate their name with socialist works.

A very good bit of work would be a series of pamphlets stating in popular language the contents of *Das Kapital*. The theory of surplus-value No. 1; the history of the various forms of surplus-value (Cooperation, Manufacture, Modern Industry) No. 2; Accumulation and the history of primitive Accumulation No. 3; the development of surplus-value making in Colonies (last chapter) No. 4—this would be specially instructive in America, as it would give the economical history of that country, from a land of independent peasants to a centre of modern industry and might be completed by facts specially American.

In the meantime you may be sure that it will take some time yet before the *mass* of the American working people will begin to *read* socialist literature. And for those that *do* read and will read, there is matter enough being provided, and least of all will *Der Ursprung* be missed by them. With the Anglo-Saxon mind, and especially with the eminently practical development it has taken in America, theory counts for nothing until imposed by dire necessity, and I count above all things upon the teaching our friends will receive by the consequences of their own blunders, to prepare them for theoretical schooling.

Written in English

**ENGELS TO AUGUST BEBEL
IN BORSDORF**

Eastbourne, August 18, 1886
4, Cavendish Place

...Since the American movement has become a reality, it must gradually cease to be a source of money for Germany. It could be that

* Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.—Ed.

only as long as it was purely academic. But now that the Anglo-American workers have been roused from their lethargy it is necessary to support their first and as yet faltering steps by the spoken or the printed word to help them form a really socialist core, and that requires money. This time however something will still be left over.

The entry of the Americans into the movement and the revival of the French movement brought about by the three workers' deputies and Decazeville²⁴⁵—these are the two events of historic importance that happened this year. Various stupidities will be committed in America—by the anarchists in one place, the Knights of Labor²⁴⁶ in another—but that does not matter, the thing has started and will develop rapidly. There will be many disappointments—the wirepullers of the old political parties are preparing to take over, behind the scenes, the management of the nascent labour party—and enormous blunders will be made, but things over there will nevertheless move faster than anywhere else....

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, September 16, 1886

...Many thanks for your efforts regarding the interviewer.* He has been the last one. Since he has broken his word of honour I have a reason for sending them packing, unless we ourselves are interested in taking one of these liars for a ride. You are right—on the whole I cannot complain. The man tries at least to be personally decent, and not he, but the American bourgeoisie, has to take the blame for his stupidity.²⁴⁷

A fine gang seems to be at the head of the party in New York²⁴⁸; the *Sozialist* is a model of what a paper should *not* be. But neither can I support Dietzgen as far as his article on the anarchists²⁴⁹ is concerned; he acts in a rather odd way. When someone expresses a rather narrow-minded view on some point, Dietzgen cannot stress sufficiently—sometimes even overstresses—that the matter has two sides. But now, because the New Yorkers are behaving contemptibly, he suddenly takes the opposite point of view and tries to present us all as anarchists. The moment may excuse this, but he shouldn't forget all his dialectics at the decisive moment. However, he has probably got it out of his system long ago, and is certainly back on the right track; I have no worries on that score.

* John T. McEnnis.—Ed.

In a country where things have evolved in so natural a way as America, which having no feudal past, has developed in a purely bourgeois fashion but has at the same time also taken over from England without any examination a whole ideological agglomeration from feudal times, such as the English common law, religion, and sectarianism, and where the necessity of practical work and of the concentration of capital have produced a widespread contempt for all theory, which is only now disappearing in the most advanced strata of scholars—in such a country it is only by making blunder after blunder that the people can become conscious of their own *social* interests. And that applies to the workers as well; the confusion among the trade unions, socialists, Knights of Labor, etc., will persist for some time and they will only learn by bitter experience. But the main thing is that they have started moving, that things are going ahead at all, that the spell is broken; and they will move fast, too, faster than anywhere else, even though using their specific road, which from the theoretical standpoint seems almost an insane road....

**ENGELS TO LAURA LAFARGUE
IN PARIS**

London, 24 Nov. 1886

Our people* have indeed hit upon a lucky moment for their journey, it coincides with the first formation of a real American working men's party and what was practically an immense success, the Henry George "boom" in N[ew] York.²⁵⁰ Master George is rather a confused sort of a body and being a Yankee, has a nostrum of his own, and not a very excellent one, but his confusion is a very fair expression of the present stage of development of the Anglo-American working-class mind, and we cannot expect even American masses to arrive at theoretical perfection in six or eight months—the age of this movement. And considering that the Germans in America are anything but a fair and adequate sample of the workmen of Germany, but rather of the elements the movement at home has eliminated—Lassalleans, disappointed ambitions, sectarians of all sorts—I for one am not sorry that the Americans start independently of them, or at least of their leadership. As a ferment, the Germans can and will act, and at the same time undergo, themselves, a good deal of useful and necessary fermentation. The

* This refers to Eleanor and Edward Aveling on the one hand and to Liebknecht on the other.—*Ed.*

unavoidable starting point, in America, are the Knights of Labor,²⁵¹ who are a real power, and are sure to form the first embodiment of the movement. Their absurd organisation and very slippery leaders—used to the methods of corrupt American partisanship—will very soon provoke a crisis within that body itself, and then a more adequate and more effective organisation can be developed from it. All this, I think, will not take very long in Yankeeland; the great point gained is that the political action of the working class as an independent party is henceforth established there.

Written in English

Frederick Engels,
Paul and Laura Lafargue,
Correspondence, Vol. 1,
Moscow, 1959, pp. 395-96

**ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOTTINGEN-ZURICH**

London, November 26, 1886

...The real movement in America, *not counting New York*, proceeds independently of the Germans. The real organisation of the Americans is the Knights of Labor, and they are as muddle-headed as the masses. But it is from this chaos that the movement will evolve, not from the German sections which for 20 years were unable to work out what is necessary for America by using the theoretical basis. But especially at present, the Germans could greatly help to clarify matters—if only they knew English!...

**ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, November 29, 1886

...The Henry George boom²⁵² has of course brought to light a colossal mass of fraud, and I am glad I was not there. But in spite of it all it was an epoch-making day. The Germans do not know how to use their theory as lever to set the American masses in motion; most of

them do not understand the theory themselves and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then satisfy all requirements without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action. What is more, they learn no English on principle. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own path and seem to have found it for the time being in the Knights of Labor, whose confused principles and ludicrous organisation seem to correspond to their own confusion. But from all I hear, the Knights of Labor are a real power, especially in New England and the West, and are becoming more so every day owing to the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I think it is necessary to work inside this organisation, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will therefore take over the leadership, at least of a section, when the inevitable, now impending break-up of the present "order" takes place. The worst side of the Knights of Labor was their political neutrality, which has resulted in sheer trickery on the part of the Powderlys, etc.; but the edge of this has been taken off by the behaviour of the masses in the November elections, especially in New York. The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party. And this step has been taken, much more rapidly than we had a right to expect, and that is the main thing. That the first programme of this party is still confused and extremely deficient and that it has raised the banner of Henry George are unavoidable evils but also merely transitory ones. The masses must have time and opportunity to develop, and they have the opportunity only when they have a movement of their own—no matter in what form so long as it is *their own* movement—in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn from their experience. The movement in America is at the same stage as it was in our country before 1848; the really intelligent people there will first have to play the part played by the Communist League²⁵³ among the workers' associations before 1848. Except that in America things will now proceed infinitely faster. For the movement to have gained such election successes after scarcely eight months of existence is wholly unprecedented. And what is still lacking will be set going by the bourgeoisie; nowhere in the whole world do they come out so shamelessly and tyrannically as over there, and your judges brilliantly outshine Bismarck's imperial pettifoggers. Where the bourgeoisie wages the struggle by such methods, a crucial stage is rapidly reached, and if we in Europe do not hurry up the Americans will soon outdistance us. But just now it is doubly necessary that there should be a few people on our side who have a firm grasp of theory and well-tried tactics and can also speak and write English;

because for good historical reasons the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical questions; and although they did not bring over any mediaeval institutions from Europe, they did bring over masses of mediaeval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism—in short, every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for stupefying the masses. If there are some theoretically lucid minds there, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make them understand that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system constantly in view as the final goal is bound to go astray and fail—then much nonsense can be avoided and the process considerably shortened. But it must be done in the English way, the specific German character must be laid aside, and the gentlemen of the *Sozialist* will hardly be capable of doing this, while those of the *Volkszeitung* are cleverer only where *business* is involved.

In Europe the effect of the American elections in November was tremendous. That England and America in particular had no labour movement up to now was the big trump card of the radical republicans everywhere, especially in France. Now these gentlemen are dumbfounded; Mr. Clemenceau in particular saw the whole foundation of his policy collapse on November 2nd. "Look at America," was his eternal motto; "where there is a real republic, there is no poverty and no labour movement!" And the same thing is happening to the Progressives²⁵⁴ and "democrats" in Germany and here—where they are also witnessing the beginnings of their own movement. The very fact that the movement is so sharply accentuated as a labour movement and has sprung up so suddenly and forcefully has stunned these people completely....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 373-75

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY IN NEW YORK

London, December 28th, 1886
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Of course the appendix* is now a little out of date, and as I anticipated something of the kind, I proposed that it should be written

* Engels, Appendix to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*.—Ed.

when the book was ready through the press. Now a preface will be much wanted, and I will write you one; but before, I must await the return of the Avelings to have a full report of the state of things in America; and it seems to me that my preface will not be exactly what you desire.

First, you seem to me to treat New York a little as the Paris of America and to overrate the importance, for the country at large, of the local New York movement with its local features. No doubt it has a great importance, but then the North-west, with its background of a numerous farming population and its independent movement, will hardly accept blindly the George theory.

Secondly, the preface of this book is hardly the place for a thoroughgoing criticism of that theory, and does not even offer the necessary space for it.

Thirdly, I should have to study thoroughly Henry George's various writings and speeches (most of which I have not got) so as to render impossible all replies based on subterfuges and side-issues.

My preface will of course turn entirely on the immense stride made by the American working men in the last ten months, and naturally also touch Henry George and his land scheme. But it cannot pretend to deal extensively with it. Nor do I think the time for that has come. It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat than that it should start and proceed, from the beginning, on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, "durch Schaden klug werden".* And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move *as a class*; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor²⁵⁵ a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionised from within, and I consider that many of the Germans there made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of *alleinseligmachendes Dogma*,** and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma. Our theory is not a dogma but the exposition of a process of evolution, and that process involves successive phases. To expect that the Americans will start with the full consciousness of the theory

* To learn by bitter experience.—*Ed.*

** Only-saving dogma.—*Ed.*

worked out in older industrial countries is to expect the impossible. What the Germans ought to do is to act up to their own theory—if they understand it, as we did in 1845 and 1848—to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its *faktische** starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Kommunistischen Manifest*: *in der Gegenwart der Bewegung die Zukunft der Bewegung zu repräsentieren.***²⁵⁶ But above all give the movement time to consolidate; do not make the inevitable confusion of the first start worse confounded by forcing down people's throats things which, at present, they cannot properly understand, but which they will soon learn. A million or two of working men's votes next November for a bona fide working men's party is worth infinitely more at present than a hundred thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform. The very first attempt—soon to be made if the movement progresses—to consolidate the moving masses on a national basis will bring them all face to face, Georgites, Knights of Labor, Trades Unionists and all; and if our German friends by that time have learnt enough of the language of the country to go in for a discussion, then will be the time for them to criticise the views of the others and thus, by showing up the inconsistencies of the various standpoints, to bring them gradually to understand their own actual position, the position made for them by the correlation of capital and wage labour. But any thing that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the working men's party—on no matter what platform—I should consider a great mistake, and therefore I do not think the time has arrived to speak out fully and exhaustively either with regard to Henry George or the Knights of Labor....

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 376-77

ENGELS TO FERDINAND DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS IN THE HAGUE

London, January 11, 1887

...The Lafargues from Paris have been here since Christmas and just a week ago the Avelings arrived from America, with much encouraging

* Actual.—*Ed.*

** To represent in the movement of the present the future of that movement.—*Ed.*

news.²⁵⁷ The movement there is speeding ahead, and irresistibly at that. The rapidity with which a political labour party has emerged from the initial and unavoidable confusion is astonishing. True the programme—or rather the various programmes in New York, Chicago, etc.—is still very vague, as was to be expected. But the mode of procedure is just as required, and that is the essential point. If one considers how long it took the workers in France, Belgium, Spain, etc., to realise that only the political organisation of the working class as a party distinct from all other parties and in opposition to them could lead them to victory, then one must admire the action of the Americans, who six months after the emergence of their movement come forward as a well co-ordinated party, gain 68,000 votes in New York²⁵⁸ and win significant electoral victories in the West.²⁵⁹ But as soon as the proletariat of a country has organised itself as a militant party, its understanding of the conditions of its emancipation is accelerated by the vicissitudes of the struggle, and especially for a nation that is so eminently practical and anti-theoretical as the Americans are the only way to gain such an insight is to learn by bitter experience, to learn wisdom from the consequences of their own mistakes. And they will quickly pass through and get over this stage....

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK**

[London,] January 27, 1887
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the Ocean. On the spot, personal bickering and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march, would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent, that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better. And the Germans have most to guard against this. Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically. *Je weniger sie den Amerikanern von außen eingepaukt wird und je mehr sie sie durch eigene Erfahrung—unter dem Beistand der Deutschen—erproben, desto tiefer geht sie ihnen in Fleisch und Blut über.** When we returned to Germany

* The less it is crammed into the Americans from without and the more they test it through their own experience—with the help of the Germans—the more it will become second nature with them.—Ed.

in spring 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules* in such a way that all working-class Socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists,²⁶⁰ Pierre-Lerouxists, and even the more advanced section of the English Trades Unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did. Had we from 1864-73 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform—where should we be today? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organisation, and I am afraid that if the German Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake....

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 378

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK**

London, February 9, 1887

...As soon as there was a national American working-class movement independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. That great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting point of American working-class development; if the Germans join it, in order to help it or to hasten its development in the right direction, they may do a deal of good and play a decisive part in it; if they stand aloof, they will dwindle down into a dogmatic sect, and will be brushed aside as people who do not understand their own principles.

Written in English

* Provisional Rules of the International.—Ed.

**) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN

London, March 10, 1887

...W[ischnewetzky] is not able to translate the *Manifesto*. No one but Sam Moore can do that, and he is working on it now; I already have the first section in MS.²⁶¹ But it should be remembered that the *Manifesto*, like almost all the shorter works of Marx and myself, is at present still far too difficult for America. The workers over there are only beginning to enter the movement, they are still quite callow and in particular tremendously backward theoretically, as a result of their general Anglo-Saxon and special American nature and previous training—for them things have to be tackled from a practical point of view, and that requires an entirely new literature. I have already suggested to W[ischnewetzky] that she should use the main points of *Capital* to write a number of separate small booklets in popular language. Once the people are more or less on the right track, the *Manifesto* will undoubtedly produce the required effect, whereas now it would make an impression only among a few....

...Whatever the Socialist Labor Party²⁶² may be, and however much it appropriates the successful work of its predecessors, it is the only labour organisation in America that is on the whole based on our principles; it has more than 70 sections throughout the North and West, and as such, and only as such, have I recognised it. I have expressly stated that it is a party only in name.²⁶³ And I am convinced that the gentlemen of the Executive were very much disappointed with my preface* and would have preferred not to have it. For they themselves belong to the wing which I say will ruin the party if it gains the upper hand. And it seems to be aiming at that. The Knights of Labor are attacked by Rosenberg in the London *Justice* on account of the longshoremen's strike²⁶⁴; he may not be entirely wrong about the individual facts, but he displays a lack of insight into the course of the movement which will soon destroy the party if these people continue to rule. It is precisely the stupid actions of the careerist leaders of the Knights of Labor and their inevitable conflicts with the Central Labor Unions²⁶⁵ in the eastern cities that must lead to a crisis within the K. of L. and bring it to a head, but the blockhead does not understand this....

* Engels, *The Labour Movement in America* (see pp. 283-90 of this book).—Ed.

**) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN MOUNT DESERT

Eastbourne, August 8, 1887

...The affair of the Wischnewetzkys is becoming more and more diverting.²⁶⁶ Such an Executive would have been deposed long ago in Germany. These people must think they can do anything, and the party will follow them through thick and thin as a reward for the fact that they demand the Americans should submit to the rule of a German group, in which sheer narrow-mindedness seems to predominate more and more. If the Germans there make that the condition for their participation, the movement will soon stride over them. Things are moving at last there, and unless I am greatly mistaken the Americans will astonish us all by the magnitude of their movement, and also by their enormous blunders, which will help them to achieve clarity in the end. As regards practical matters they are ahead of everyone else and still in swaddling clothes in theory—that's the position and one cannot expect it to be different. It is moreover a land without tradition (apart from religious tradition), which has begun with the democratic republic, and a people full of energy as no other. The movement will by no means follow the classic straight line, but will zigzag and at times seem to be moving backward, but that is of much less importance there than here. Henry George was an unavoidable evil, but he will soon be erased, like Powderly and especially McGlynn, whose temporary popularity is quite understandable in that pious country. In the autumn much will be—I won't say cleared up, but still more and more complicated, and the crisis will come closer. It is very fortunate that the annual autumn elections continually force the masses to unite....

ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK

London, September 15, 1887
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

The repudiation of the Socialists by George²⁶⁷ is in my opinion an unmerited piece of good-luck which will redeem to a great extent the—unavoidable—blunder of placing George at the head of a movement he did not even understand. George as the standard bearer of the whole working-class movement was a duper; George as the chief of the

Georgites will soon be a thing of the past, the leader of a sect, like the thousands of sects in America....

Fortunately the movement in America has now got such a start that neither George, nor Powderly nor the German intriguers can spoil or stop it. Only it will take unexpected forms. The real movement always looks different to what it ought to have done in the eyes of those who were tools in preparing it.

Written in English

****)ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN ROCHESTER**

London, September 16, 1887

...I shall be able to look for Marx's letter on George²⁶⁸ only when I begin putting things in order, that is, as soon as some new bookcases I have ordered to give me more space arrive. Then you will immediately receive a translation. There's no great hurry—George must first get himself into an even greater jam. His repudiation of the socialists²⁶⁹ is the greatest good fortune that could happen to us. Making him the standard-bearer last November²⁷⁰ was an unavoidable mistake for which we were bound to suffer. For one can set the masses in motion only along a road—usually a roundabout road—appropriate to each country and the existing circumstances. Provided they are really roused, everything else is unimportant. But the mistakes unavoidably made in doing this are paid for every time. And in this case it was to be feared that making the founder of a sect the standard-bearer would burden the movement with the follies of the sect for years to come. By expelling the founders of the movement, and setting up his sect as a special, orthodox George sect, and proclaiming his narrow-mindedness as the limit set to the whole movement, George saves the movement and ruins himself.

The movement itself will, of course, still go through many and disagreeable phases, disagreeable particularly for those who live in the country and have to endure them. But I am firmly convinced that things are now going ahead over there, and perhaps more rapidly than here, notwithstanding the fact that the Americans, for the time being, will learn almost exclusively from practice and not so much from theory.

The reply of the New York Executive to my footnote is pitiful.²⁷¹

Nor do I expect much from their convention. The people in the East—the sections—do not seem to be worth much, and it is not likely that the centre of gravity of the Social-Democratic Party will be transferred to the West....

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK**

London, February 22, 1888
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...Your remarks about my books being boycotted by the official German Socialists of New York²⁷² are quite correct, but I am used to that sort of things, and so the efforts of these gents amuse me. Better so than to undergo their patronage. With them the movement is a business, and "business is business". This kind of things won't last very long, their efforts to boss the American movement as they have done with the German-American one, must fail miserably. The masses will set all that right, when once they move....

Written in English

**ENGELS TO FLORENCE KELLEY-WISCHNEWETZKY
IN NEW YORK**

London, April 11, 1888

The Free Trade question will not disappear from the American horizon until settled. I am sure that Protection has done its duty for the US and is now an obstacle, and whatever may be the fate of the Mills Bill,²⁷³ the struggle will not end until either Free Trade enables the US manufacturers to take the leading part in the world market to which they are entitled in many branches of trade, or until both Protectionists and Free Traders are shoved aside by those behind them. Economic facts are stronger than politics, especially if the politics are so much mixed up with corruption as in America. I should not wonder if during the next few years one set of American manufacturers after the other... over to the Free Traders—if they understand their interests they *must*.

Written in English

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can spoil or
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those who

in English

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Die amerikanische Präsidentenwahl.

Die alte Welt stand unter der Herrschaft des Fatum, des heimarmen, des unverbaubaren geheimnisvollen Schicksals. So bezeichneten Griechen und Römer jene ungemeine Allgemeinheit, die alles menschliche Wollen und Streben zu nichts mache, alle menschliche That zu ganz anderen Resultaten als den beabsichtigten führen ließ; eine unmöglichste Gewalt, die man seitdem Vorstellung, Gnadenwohl usw. genannte hat. Diese mysteriöse Gewalt hat allmählich eine fassbare Form angenommen, und das verbaute von der Herrschaft der Bourgeoisie und des Kapitals, der ersten Klassenherrschaft, die sich über ihre eigenen Daseinsbedürfnisse und Bedingungen klar zu werden suchte, und damit auch die Thür öffnete zur Erscheinung der Unabwendbarkeit ihres eigenen bevorstehenden Unterganges. Das Schicksal, das Vorstellung — das wissen wir jetzt — findet die wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen, unter denen produziert und ausgetauscht wird, und diese fassen sich heute zusammen im Weltmarkt.

Und darin liegt die Bedeutung der amerikanischen Präsidentenwahl, daß sie ein Weltmarktereignis ersten Ranges ist.

Vor vier Jahren ließ ich in Boston englisch, und in Stuttgart deutsch einen Ansatz über Schutz- und Freihandel drucken. Ich wies darin nach, daß das industrielle Monopol Englands mit den ökonomischen Entwicklung der übrigen Kulturstaaten unvereinbar sei; daß der seit dem Bürgerkrieg in Amerika eingeführte Schutzwall des Willens der Amerikaner bezeugt, daß doch dieses Monopol abzutun ist; daß den ungeheuren natürlichen Hilfssquellen und der intellektuellen und moralischen Begabung der amerikanischen Rasse dies Ziel jetzt schon erreicht, und der Zollschutz in Amerika nicht minder als in Deutschland eine Tiefsttarif der Industrie geworden sei. Und dann sagte ich: Wenn Amerika zum Freihandel einführt, so schlägt es in sehn Jahren England auf dem Weltmarkt.

Dann gut! Die Präsidentenwahl vom 8. November 1892 hat die Bahn zum Freihandel eröffnet. Der Zollschutz in der Mc Kinley'schen Form ist zur unverträglichen Kette geworden; die widerstreitende Verhinderung aller eingeführten Rohstoffe und Lebensmittel, die auch auf den Preis vieler inländischen zurückwirkt, hat der amerikanischen Industrie den Weltmarkt großthes verschlossen, während der heimische Markt bereits an Überfüllung durch amerikanische Industrieprodukte litt. Und in der That, in den letzten Jahren diente der Schutzwall nur noch dazu, die kleinen Produzenten zu ruinieren durch den Druck der großen, zu Kartellen und Trusts vereinigten Großproduzenten, und diesen letzteren, also dem organisierten Monopol, den Markt und damit die

konsumirende Nation zur Ausbeutung zu überliefern. Dieser durch den Schutzwall verursachten permanenten inneren Industriekrisis kann Amerika nur entgehen, indem es sich den Weltmarkt öffnet, und dazu muß es sich von Schutzwall trennen; es dies zu thun entschlossen, zeigt der in der Wahl zu Tage tretende totale Umsturz der öffentlichen Meinung. Einmal auf den Weltmarkt abgestellt, wird Amerika — wie England, und durch England — unaufhaltlich auf der Bahn des Freihandels weiter getrieben.

Und dann werden wir einen Industrielampf erleben, wie keinen bisher. Auf allen Märkten werden englische Produkte, namentlich Textil- und Eisenwaren mit amerikanischen zu lämpfen haben und schließlich unterliegen. Schon jetzt schlägt amerikanische Baumwolle und Leinenware die englischen aus dem Felde. Wollt ihr wissen, was das Wunder bewirkt hat, die Baumwollarbeiter von Lancashire in einem kurzen Jahr aus wüthenden Gegnern zu begeisterten Anhängern des gesetzlichen Arbeitsschutzes machen? Schlägt das „Neue Zeitalter“ nach, Nr. 2 vom Oktober d. J. S. 56, wo ihr sehen könnt, wie die amerikanische Baumwolle und Leinenware die englischen Schritte aus dem heimischen Markt verdrängen, wie die englische Einfahrt seit 1881 nie mehr die amerikanische erreicht hat und 1891 nur noch ungefähr ein Drittel der Lasteren betrug. Und China ist, neben Indien, weitauß der Hauptmarkt für diese Gewebe.

Das ist wieder ein Beweis, wie mit der Wende des Jahrhunderts alle Verhältnisse sich verschoben. Legt der Schwerpunkt der Textil- und Eisenindustrie von England nach Amerika, um England wird entweder ein zweites Holland, ein Land dessen Bourgeoisie von vergangener Größe zehrt, und dessen Proletariat eintrocknet, oder — es vorzunehmen — sich sozialistisch. Das erste ist nicht möglich, das läge sich doch englischer Proletariat nicht gefallen, dazu ist es viel zu zahlreich und zu entwidelt. Bleibt also nur das zweite. Der Sturz des Schutzwalls in Mexiko bedient den schlesischen Sieg des Sozialismus in England.

Und Deutschland? Wird es, daß schon 1878 sich eine Stellung auf dem Weltmarkt erobert, die es, dank seiner thürigen Schutzpolitis, jetzt Schritt um Schritt vertieft, wird es dabei beharrchen, sich durch Besteuerung von Rohstoffen und Lebensmitteln den Weg zum Weltmarkt auch seinerseits halbstarr zu verschließen, auch gegenüber der amerikanischen Konkurrenz, die noch ganz andere ins Auge gehen wird als bisher schon die englische? Wird die deutsche Bourgeoisie den Verstand und den Mut haben, dem von Amerika gegebenen Beispiel zu folgen, oder wird sie, schlapp wie bisher, abwarten, bis die übermäßig gewordene amerikanische Industrie das Schutzwall-Kartell zwischen Unter- und Großproduzenten gewaltsam sprengt? Und wird Regierung und Bourgeoisie endlich einsehen, wie praktisch ungeschickt der Moment gewählt ist, gerade jetzt die ökonomischen Kräfte

Deutschlands durch neue, unerschwingliche Militärauslagen zu erdrücken, wo es sich darum handelt, den industriellen Wettbewerb aufzunehmen mit der jugendstarksten Nation der Welt, die in wenig Jahren ihre kolossale Kriegskraft was sie mit den Steuerverträgen anfangen soll?

Die deutsche Bourgeoisie hat — vielleicht zum letzten Male — die Gelegenheit, endlich eine große Thal zu thun, Hundert gegen eins, sie ist zu beschrankt und zu fest, sie zu etwas anderem zu bewegen, als zum Beweis, daß sie endgültig ausgestorben ist.

Friedrich Engels.

Politische Übersicht.

Berlin, den 15. November.

Die preußische Vermögenssteuer bringt in der Bourgeoisie die größten Verleumdungen hervor. Die konservativen Apratier führen dieselben weniger; die Vortheile, welche ihnen die Steuergesetze bringen, sind zu handgreiflich, als daß die geringe Vermögenssteuer und die Konsequenzen, welche die Bourgeoisie fürchtet, sie schrecken könnten. Sie fühlen sich zu sicher im Besitz der Negierung und wissen, daß diese alles eher ihm würde, als ihnen ins Fleisch schneiden. Die liberale Bourgeoisie hat deshalb keine Scheu vor der Vermögenssteuer. So schreibt die „Wossiße Zeitung“:

„Keine Partei ist über die Vermögenssteuer in ähnlichem Maße erfreut wie die Sozialdemokratie. Und sie hat Grund dar bei Freude. Denn das in Geist von ihrem Geist. Sie darf freudlich, dass der „Staat der Bourgeoisie“ ihr durch Ausstellung des Vermögensstaats vorarbeitet. Wenn in Zukunft Mehrforderungen an die Volksvertretung ergreifen, so wird nichts natürlicher als daß Verlangen sein, die nötigen Rechte durch Erhöhung der Vermögenssteuer aufzu bringen. Durch kann man leicht die Adel zu ziehen und müssen, von 6000 Mark Vermögen zwei Mark jährlich oder von 100000 M. Betragen 50 M. jährlich Vermögenssteuer zu zahlen, das sei nicht des Aufsehens werth. Aber, hatte ein Finanzminister nicht sowohl eine Vermögenssteuer von einem halben pro Mille, sondern vielleicht von 5 pro Mille oder auch von 1 pro Mille oder mehr im Auge, so mügte er ein schlechtes Diplomat sein, wenn er eine solche Forderung als bald stellte oder eine solche Absicht sagte. Nur der erste Schritt töte Mühe; alles übrige folgt von selbst.“

Die Ausstellung des Vermögensstaats allein schreibt schon das „Leisung“ Blatt. Hat man doch Jahre lang den Sozialdemokraten den unfruchtbaren Vorwurf gemacht, daß sie „Theilen“ wollen, und nachzuweisen versucht, daß für den Einzelnen dabei verflucht wenig herauskomme. Den Kleinbauer und Kleinbürger hat man besonders mit dem Geplänk des „Theilens“ in Schreden verlegt. Nach der amtlichen Berechnung des Privatvermögens verliert der Gedanke des „Theilens“, der geradezu im Gegen-

ging es recht gut, aber seit einigen Tagen ist es wieder schlechter. Ich muß mich am Dienstag beim Verlassen des Theaters erkaltet haben.“

Die Thür öffnete sich und gesagt von einem Oberfressner erschien die beiden jungen Frauen. Sie waren dicht verkleidet und in ihrem ganzen Benehmen lag jene Brüderlichkeit, jener Fleiß des Geheimnisvollen, wie ihn Orie verlehrten, wo Zusammensein und Begegnung Verdacht erregen können.

Man nahm Platz, und der Oberfressner bot Forester die Weinplatte. Frau von Marelle aber rief: „Die Herren können wählen, wie sie wollen; uns aber bringen Sie Champagner in Eis, vom besten, süßen natürlich und nichts anderes.“

Als der Kellner verschwunden war, lachte sie über mich mit belustigtem Gesicht.“

Forester schien nicht darauf zu hören zu hören und fragte: „Würden Sie etwas dagegen haben, wenn wir den anderen Flügel auch noch schließen? Seit ein paar Tagen ist meine Brust etwas angegriffen.“

Nicht in Geringen.“ Er stand auf, schloß den halbgeschlossenen Flügel und lehnte mit beruhigter, zufriedener Miene auf seinen Platz zurück.

Seine Frau sagte nichts: sie hatte die Augen auf den Tisch gehoben und sah mit ihrem unbekümmerten Lächeln, das stets etwas zu versprechen und nie zu halten schien, auf das Glas.

Öffnender Austritt wurde gedrängt. Klein und fett sahen sie wie Deichen in ihren Schalen und schmolzen wie salzige Bonbons zwischen Gaumen und Zunge.

Noch der Suppe kamen Forellen, so zart und rosig,

wie die Haut eines jungen Mädchens auf den Tisch. Nun begann die Gesellschaft zu plaudern.

Barst sprach man von einem Gericht, das herumliegt: eine Freut aus der feinen Gesellschaft war beim Souper mit einem ausköstigen Bringen in einem Kabinett von einem Freunde ihres Gatten überwältigt worden.

Forester lachte sehr über die Geschichte. Die beiden Frauen aber erklärten, daß der unbekümmerte Schwäger ein Trottel oder ein Feigling sein müsse. Darauf war ihrer Meinung und verließ eilig die Ansicht, daß ein Mann die Würde habe, bei solchen Geschichten gleichviel ob als Teilnehmer, Berater oder einfacher Zeuge, wie das Grab verschwiegen zu sein. Er seufzte hinzu: „Wer würde das Leben voller Reiz sein, wenn wir auf solche Verhältnisse unter einander rechnen könnten. Oft scheint ja fast immer halt die Freuden nur die Angst vor der Entdeckung zurück.“

Lächelnd fuhr er fort: „Stimmt das nicht? Wie viele würden sich nicht einem rasch in ihnen erwachten Verlangen, der plötzlichen, wilden Laune einer Stunde, einer Liebesphantasie hingeben, wenn sie nicht fürchten, ein kurzes, kaum genossenes Glück mit der unerträglichen Verachtung ihres Rufs und schmerzlichen Thäten bezahlen zu müssen?“

Er sprach mit so überzeugender Verständsamkeit, als wenn er seine eigene Sache vertheidigte, als wenn er sagen wollte: „Bei mir hätte man solche Gefahren nicht zu befürchten. Versuchen Sie es nur einmal!“

Die beiden Frauen sahen ihn an, und ihre Blicke sagten, daß sie keine Meinung billigten. Sie fanden seine Worte angemessen und richtig, und bewiesen durch ihr freundliches Schweigen, daß ihre biegsame Moral, die Moral der Pariserin, nicht lange Stand halten würde, wenn sie des Geheimnisses sicher wären.

Feuilleton.

Nachdruck verboten.

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Bel-Ami.

Roman von Guy de Maupassant.

Als großen hellgrünen Fleck sah man die Blätter der Baumsäulen strahlend helles Licht auf sie. Durch sie sah man den Freien schimmern. Aus den Zimmern des Restaurants strahlte helles Licht auf sie. Durch sie sah man den Freien schimmern. Als finge er in einem niedrigen Divan vor dem Eindruck, als finde er in einem Koch, so gaben die abgesetzten Federn unter ihm nach. Ein unbestimmbares Brauen drang aus dem großen Hause zu ihm hinein, der vermorrne Kärm eines Restaurants: da flatterte Vorstellen- und Silbergeschirr beim Zusammenstoßen; das Geräusch eiliger Kellner schrie erstickten die Tapeten der Korridore; Thüren klapperten und klopfen, wenn sie einen Augenblick öffnen sollten, Stimmenkreise aus den kleinen Zimmern tönen, in denen speisende Gäste eingezogen waren.

Forester trat ein und schüttete ihm mit einer herzlichen Vertraulichkeit, wie er sie in den Redaktionsräumen der „Wie Francaise“ niemals zeigte, die Hand.

„Die beiden Damen kommen zusammen“, sagte er. „Die Diner hier sind immer sehr hübsch.“

Dann sah er den Tisch an, drehte eine dunkelbrennende Gasflamme sofort aus und schloß aus Angst vor Zug den einen Fensterflügel. Er setzte sich in eine geschäftige Ecke und meinte: „Ich muß sehr aufpassen; einen Monat lang

**ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT
IN BERLIN**

London, October 8, 1888

...I thought America was very interesting, one must really have seen this country with one's own eyes. Its history does not go back further than commodity production, and it is the Holy Land of capitalist production. The ideas we usually have of it are just as wrong as those a German schoolboy has of France. We also greatly enjoyed the beautiful scenery, on the Niagara, the Saint Lawrence, in the Adirondacks and the smaller lakes there....

**ENGELS TO CONRAD SCHMIDT
IN ZURICH**

London, January 11, 1889

...It is quite understandable that, if one lives under the rule of the Anti-Socialist Law,²⁷⁴ the German socialist press in America appears to be good, especially from the standpoint of a journalist. In reality it has little value, either from a theoretical or a local American point of view. The *Philadelphia Tageblatt* is the best, the *St. Louis Tageblatt* is well-meaning but weak, the *New-Yorker Volkszeitung* is well managed commercially, but run mainly as a business, the *Sozialist* (New York)—the official organ of the German party—is very bad.²⁷⁵ At present, there is little scope for theoreticians in America. The Germans—at least within their official organisation—maintain that they are a branch of the party in Germany, and with truly Lassallean arrogance they look down on the “ignorant” Americans demanding that the Americans should join their German party, i.e., subordinate themselves to the German leadership, in short their behaviour shows sectarian narrow-mindedness and pettiness. It is better in the interior but the New Yorkers always retain the whip hand. It is only rarely that I see the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung*—now edited by Christensen. In short, one can write only for the daily newspapers in America, and to do that one must have lived there for at least a year to acquire the necessary personal knowledge and confidence. One must moreover conform to the local views, which are often rather hidebound, for the narrow artisan spirit, which was eliminated by large-scale industry in Germany, still finds advocates among the Germans there (it is rather odd that side by side with the very latest and most revolutionary elements, the most

antiquated and the most old-fashioned continue peacefully to exist in America). In a few years things may and probably will improve, but anyone wishing to co-operate in developing the scientific aspect finds a much better prepared public here in Europe....

**ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN NEW YORK**

London, January 11, 1890

...The fact that you have got rid of Rosenberg and Co. is the main point about the revolution in your American socialist tea-pot. The German party over there must be smashed up *as such*, it is the worst obstacle. The American workers are coming along already, but just like the English they go their own way. One cannot at the outset cram theory into them, but their own experience and their own blunders and the evil consequences of them will soon bump their noses up against theory—and then it will be all right. Independent nations go their own way, and of them all the English and their offspring are surely the most independent. Their insular stiff-necked obstinacy is often enough annoying, but it also guarantees that what is begun will be carried out once a thing has been set going....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 389

****)ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, February 8, 1890

...In my opinion, we hardly lose anything ponderable by the defection of the official socialists over there to the Nationalists.²⁷⁶ If the whole German Socialist Labor Party²⁷⁷ went to pieces as a result, it would be a gain, but such a favourable outcome is rather unlikely. The really useful elements will in the end nevertheless come together again—and the larger the amount of dross that has separated itself, the sooner this will happen—and when events themselves drive the American proletariat farther on, their superior theoretical insight and experience will enable them to take over the role of leaders, and then you will find that your

years of work have not been in vain.

The movement there, just like the one here and now also that in the coal regions of Germany, cannot be advanced by preaching alone. Facts must drum it into people's heads, and after that things will move fast, fastest, of course, where an organised and theoretically educated section of the proletariat already exists, as in Germany....

I think it will be the same with you in America, too. It is after all not possible to convert the Schleswig-Holsteiners and their descendants in England and America²⁷⁸ by lecturing; this pig-headed and conceited lot must experience it themselves. And this they are doing more and more from year to year, but they are extremely conservative, precisely because America is so purely bourgeois, without any feudal past, and is therefore proud of its purely bourgeois organisation—and they will therefore get rid of the old traditional mental rubbish only through practical experience. Hence it must begin with the trade unions, etc., if it is to be a mass movement, and every further step must be forced upon them by a setback. But once the first step going beyond the bourgeois outlook has been taken, things will move quickly, like everything in America, where the velocity of the movement is bound to grow and will put a good deal of steam behind the usually very slow Schleswig-Holstein Anglo-Saxons, and then the foreign elements in the nation will also assert themselves by their greater mobility. I consider the decay of the specifically German party, with its ridiculous theoretical confusion, its corresponding arrogance, and its Lassalleanism, a real piece of good fortune. Only when these separatists are out of the way, will the fruits of your work again become apparent. The Anti-Socialist Law²⁷⁹ was a misfortune, not for Germany, but for America, to which it sent the last of the hidebound boors. When I was over there, I often marveled at the many boorish faces one encountered, faces which vanished in Germany, but are flourishing over there....

****) ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOBOKEN**

London, January 29, 1891

...The fact that things are going downhill with the Socialist Labor Party is quite evident from its fraternisation with the Nationalists,²⁸⁰ compared to whom English Fabians²⁸¹—likewise bourgeois—are radicals. I should have thought that the *Sozialist* would scarcely be able to produce increased boredom by cohabiting with the *Nationalist*.

Sorge sends me the *Nationalist*, but despite all my efforts I cannot find anyone who is willing to read it.

Nor do I understand the quarrel with Gompers.²⁸² His Federation is, as far as I know, an association of trade unions and nothing but trade unions. Hence they have the *formal right* to reject anyone coming as the representative of a labour organisation that is *not* a trade union, or to reject delegates of an association to which such organisations are admitted. I cannot judge from here, of course, whether it was *propagandistically* advisable to expose oneself to such a rejection. But that it had to come was beyond all doubt and I, for one, cannot blame Gompers for it.

But when I think of the next international congress in Brussels, I should have thought it would have been advisable to keep on good terms with Gompers, who at any rate has more workers behind him than the Socialist Labor Party, and to ensure as big a delegation from America as possible, including *his* people. They would see many things there that might cause them to revise their narrow-minded trade union standpoint—and besides, where do you want to find a recruiting ground if not in the trade unions?...

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, June 10, 1891

...The movement is proceeding in an English systematic fashion, step by step, but surely. It is an odd phenomenon and a very significant one that the people who claim to be orthodox Marxists, who have transformed our concept of movement into a rigid dogma to be learned by heart, that these people are *merely a sect* here and in America. It is even more significant, that these people are foreigners, Germans, over there, whereas over here they are dyed-in-the-wool Englishmen, Hyndman and his set....

**ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, October 24, 1891

...I can very well believe that the movement in the USA is again at a low ebb. Over there everything is liable to big ups and downs. But in

each of the ups new ground is definitely gained and so one makes progress in the long run. Thus the powerful surge of the Knights of Labor²⁸³ and of the strike movement of 1886 to 1888 despite all the set-backs has on the whole advanced our cause. There is now quite a different spirit among the masses. Still more ground will be gained next time. But the living standard of the native American worker is nevertheless considerably higher than even that of the English worker, and this alone is sufficient to relegate him to a back seat for some time. Besides there is the competition of the emigrants and some other reasons. *When* the time is ripe things will move there with enormous speed and energy, but it may take a little while till that point is reached. Miracles don't happen anywhere. Add to this moreover the unfortunate business with the supercilious Germans who want to play the schoolmaster and at the same time the commander and who have thus made the natives dislike learning even the best thing from them....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 411

ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON IN ST. PETERSBURG

[London,] October 29-31, 1891

...The only country where similar, or approximatively similar profits are nowadays possible in staple industries, is the United States, America. There the protective tariff after the Civil War, and now the McKinley tariff,²⁸⁴ have had similar results, and the profits must be, and are, enormous. The fact that this state of things depends entirely on tariff legislation, which may be altered from one day to another, is sufficient to prevent any large investment of *foreign* capital (large in proportion to the quantity of domestic capital invested) in these industries, and thus to keep out the principal source of competition and lowering of profits....

Written in English

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 412

ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE IN HOBOKEN

London, January 6, 1892

...There is no place yet in America for a *third* party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in *the same* class stratum is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different strata and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality, and to a very large extent each of the two parties contains representatives of nearly every particular section of the possessing class, though *today* big industry on the whole forms the core of the Republicans, just as the big landed property of the South forms that of the Democrats. The apparent haphazardness of this jumbling together provides the splendid soil for the corruption and the exploitation of the government that flourish over there so extensively. Only when the land—the public lands—is completely in the hands of the speculators and settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or becomes the subject of trickery—only then, I think, with *tranquil* development, will the time for a third party come. *Land* is the basis of speculation, and the mania and opportunity for speculation in America are the chief levers that keep the native-born worker under the sway of the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that can no longer expect *anything* from speculation will we have a solid foothold in America. But of course who can count on *tranquil* development in America? There are economic leaps over there like the political ones in France, and they do indeed produce the same temporary retrogressions.

The small farmers and the lower middle class will hardly ever succeed in forming a strong party: they consist of elements that change too rapidly—the farmer moreover is often migratory, working two, three, and four farms in succession in different states and Territories²⁸⁵; immigration and bankruptcy promote change in personnel in the two groups, and economic dependence upon the creditor also impedes independence—but on the other hand they are a splendid element for politicians, who speculate on their discontent in order to sell them out to one of the big parties afterward.

The “tenacity” of the Yankees, who are even rehashing the greenback humbug,²⁸⁶ is a result of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. They are punished for this by a superstitious belief in every philosophical and economic absurdity, by religious sectarianism, and idiotic economic experiments, which however are profitable to certain bourgeois cliques....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 416-17

**ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN NEW YORK**

London, March 30, 1892

...Your great obstacle in America, it seems to me, lies in the exceptional position of the native workers. Up to 1848 one could only speak of the permanent native working class as an exception: the small beginnings of it in the cities in the East could always hope to become farmers or bourgeois. Now a native working class has developed and is also to a large extent organised in trade unions. But it still assumes an aristocratic posture and wherever possible leaves the ordinary badly paid occupations to the immigrants, of whom only a small section enter the aristocratic trades. These immigrants however are divided into different nationalities and understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeoisie knows much better even than the Austrian Government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each one against the other, so that differences in the living standard of the workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard-of elsewhere. And added to this is the total indifference of a society which has grown up on a purely capitalist basis, without any genial feudal background, towards the human beings who succumb in the competitive struggle: "there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutchmen, Irishmen, Italians, Jews and Hungarians"; and, to cap it all, John Chinaman stands in the background who far surpasses them all in his ability to live on next to nothing.

In such a country, continually renewed waves of advance, followed by equally certain setbacks, are inevitable. But the advancing waves are always becoming more powerful, the setbacks less paralysing, and on the whole things are nevertheless moving forward. But this I consider certain: the purely bourgeois basis, with no pre-bourgeois humbug behind it, the corresponding colossal energy of the development, which manifests itself even in the mad excesses of the present protective tariff system,²⁸⁷ will one day bring about a change that will astound the whole world. Once the Americans get started it will be with an energy and vehemence compared with which we in Europe shall be mere children.

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 419-20

**ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, December 31, 1892

...Here in old Europe things are a little livelier than in your "youthful" country, which still doesn't quite want to grow out of its hobbledehoy stage. It is remarkable but wholly natural how firmly rooted bourgeois prejudices are even in the working class in such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois basis from the beginning. Out of his very opposition to the mother country—which still wears its feudal disguise—the American worker, too, imagines that the traditional bourgeois regime he inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time, a *nec-plus ultra*. Just as in New England Puritanism, the reason for the whole colony's existence, has for that very reason become an heirloom and almost inseparable from local patriotism. The Americans may strain and struggle as much as they like, but they simply cannot discount their future—colossally great as it is—like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it falls due; and just because their future is so great, their present must be occupied mainly with preparatory work for that future, and this work, as in every young country, is of a predominantly material nature and involves a certain backwardness of thought, a clinging to the traditions connected with the foundation of the new nationality. The Anglo-Saxon race—these damned Schleswig-Holsteiners, as Marx always called them—is slow-witted anyhow, and its history, both in Europe and America (economic success and predominantly peaceful political development), has encouraged this still more. Only great events can be of assistance in such cases, and if, added to the more or less completed transfer of the public lands to private ownership, there now comes an expansion of industry under a less insane tariff policy and the conquest of foreign markets, things may go well with you, too. The class struggles here in England, too, were more turbulent during the *period of development* of large-scale industry and died down just in the period of England's undisputed industrial domination of the world. In Germany, too, the development of large-scale industry since 1850 coincides with the rise of the socialist movement, and it will probably not be different in America. It is the revolutionising of all traditional relations by industry as it develops that also revolutionises people's minds.

Moreover, the Americans have for a long time been providing the European world with the proof that the bourgeois republic is the re-

public of capitalist businessmen, in which politics is simply a business like any other....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 426-27

**ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG**

London, February 24, 1893

...While England is fast losing her industrial monopoly, France and Germany are approaching the industrial level of England, and America bids fair to drive them all out of the world's market both for industrial and for agricultural produce. The introduction of an, at least relative, free trade policy in America is sure to complete the ruin of England's industrial monopoly, and to destroy, at the same time, the industrial export trade of Germany and France; then the crisis must come, tout ce qu'il y a de plus *fin de siècle*....

Written in English

**ENGELS TO F. WIESEN
IN BAIRD (TEXAS)**

Eastbourne,* March 14, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Dear Comrade,

pressure of work prevented me from answering your note of Jan. 29 earlier.

I cannot see that nominating candidates for an elective political office, or voting for such candidates, is necessarily an infringement of social-democratic principles, even if one is working for the abolition of that office.

One can be of the opinion that the best method of abolishing the President's office and the Senate in America is to elect men to these positions who are pledged to carry through the abolition, and hence

* In the original: London.—*Ed.*

one will act accordingly. Others may be of the opinion that this method is inexpedient, that is a debatable matter. Under certain circumstances such a course of action may involve a repudiation of the revolutionary principles, I fail to see however why this must always and everywhere be so.

The immediate goal of the labour movement is, after all, the winning of political power for and by the working class. If we agree on this, then the controversy about the means and methods to be used in this struggle can, among sincere people with common sense, hardly lead to fundamental differences. In my view the tactics that are best for each country are those leading most quickly and most certainly to the goal. But America, in particular, is still very far from this goal, and I believe I am not wrong when I attribute to this circumstance the importance which is sometimes still attached to such academic controversial issues in America.

You are at liberty to publish—unabridged—this note.

Yours sincerely,

F. Engels

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, March 18, 1893

...It seems that the silver affair in America can only be settled by a crash.²⁸⁸ Nor does Cleveland seem to have the power and courage to smash this bribery ring. And it would be really good if things came to a head. A nation—a young nation—so conceited about its “practice” and at the same time so frightfully dense theoretically as the Americans are can only through bitter experience get rid of so deep-rooted a fixed idea. It is quite plausible to imagine that there isn't enough money in the world at large because one hasn't any money when one needs it—this childish notion common to the paper-currency swindle à la Kellogg and to the silver swindle is most surely cured by experiment and bankruptcy, which may also take a course that is rather favourable for us. If only some tariff reform is introduced this autumn, you Americans can be pleased, the rest will follow. The main thing is to make it possible for American industry to compete in the world market....

**ENGELS TO NIKOLAI FRANTSEVICH DANIELSON
IN ST. PETERSBURG**

London, October 17, 1893

...Where he [Mr. P. V. Struve] is decidedly wrong, is in comparing the present state of Russia with that of the United States, in order to refute what he calls your pessimistic views of the future. He says, the evil consequences of modern capitalism in Russia will be as easily overcome as they are in the United States. There he quite forgets that the U.S. are modern, bourgeois, from the very origin; that they were founded by petits bourgeois and peasants who ran away from European feudalism in order to establish a purely bourgeois society. Whereas in Russia, we have a groundwork of a primitive communistic character, a pre-civilisation *Gentilgesellschaft*,^{*} crumbling ruins, it is true, but still serving as the groundwork, the material upon which the capitalistic revolution (for it is a real social revolution) acts and operates. In America, *Geldwirtschaft*^{**} has been fully established for more than a century, in Russia, *Naturalwirtschaft*^{***} was all but exclusively the rule. Therefore it stands to reason that the change, in Russia, must be far more violent, far more incisive, and accompanied by immensely greater sufferings than it can be in America....

Written in English
Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
pp. 437-38

****) ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, December 2, 1893
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...The repeal of the Silver Purchase Act has saved America from a severe money crisis and will boost industrial production. But I don't know whether it wouldn't have been better for this crash to have

* Gentile society.—*Ed.*

** Money economy.—*Ed.*

*** Natural economy.—*Ed.*

actually occurred. The phrase "cheap money" seems to have struck deep roots in the mind of your Western farmers. First, they imagine that if there is much currency in the country, the interest rate must drop, but they confuse currency and available money capital, much light will be thrown on this in Volume III.* Secondly, it suits all debtors to contract debts in good currency and to pay them off later in depreciated currency. That is why the debt-ridden Prussian junkers also clamour for a bimetallic currency, which would provide them with a veiled Solonic riddance of their debts.²⁸⁹ Now if they had been able to wait with the silver reform in the United States until the consequences of the nonsense had also hit the farmers, that might have been an eye-opener for some of those dense heads.

The tariff reform,²⁹⁰ although it is introduced at a slow pace, seems to have already caused a sort of panic among the manufacturers in New England. I hear—privately and from the newspapers—of the lay-off of numerous workers. But that will cease as soon as the law is passed and the uncertainty is over; I am convinced that America can boldly enter into competition with England in all the main branches of industry.

It is a very unfortunate business with the German socialists in America. The people who go over there from Germany are in most cases not the best—the best stay here—and at any rate they are by no means a fair sample of the German party. And as is the case everywhere, each new arrival feels called upon to overturn and reorganise everything he finds so that a new epoch may date from himself. Moreover, most of these greenhorns remain stuck in New York for a long time or for life, they are continually reinforced by new additions and relieved of the necessity of learning the language of the country or of getting to know American conditions properly. All of that certainly causes much harm, but, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that American conditions involve very great and peculiar difficulties for a steady development of a workers' party.

First, the Constitution, based as in England upon party government, which makes it appear as though every vote were *lost* that is cast for a candidate not put up by one of the two governing parties. And the American, like the Englishman, wants to exert an influence on his state; he does not want to throw his vote away.

Then, and more especially, immigration, which divides the workers into two groups: the native-born and the foreigners, and the latter in turn into (1) the Irish, (2) the Germans, (3) the many small groups—Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc.—who understand only their own language. And in addition the Negroes. Very powerful incentives

* Of Capital.—*Ed.*

are needed to form a single party out of these elements. There is sometimes a sudden strong *élan*, but the bourgeoisie need only wait passively, and the dissimilar elements of the working class will fall apart again.

Third. Lastly the protective tariff system and the steadily growing domestic market must have enabled the workers to participate in the sort of prosperity which we in Europe (apart from Russia, where, however, not the workers profit by it but the bourgeoisie) have not seen for years.

A country like America, when it is really ripe for a socialist workers' party, can certainly not be prevented from having one by a few German socialist doctrinaires....

**ENGELS TO HERMANN SCHLÜTER
IN HOBOKEN**

[London,] December 2, 1893

...You are now at last on the way to getting rid of bimetallism and the McKinley tariff and that will considerably accelerate developments over there. Although a big silver debacle might have been quite a good thing as regards the education of the amazingly stupid American farmer and his cheap money.²⁹¹

**ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, May 12, 1894
122, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...The Social-Democratic Federation here shares with your German-American Socialists²⁹² the distinction of being the only parties who have contrived to reduce the Marxist theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach as a result of their class consciousness, but which, like an article of faith, is to be forced down their throats at once and without development. That is why both remain mere sects and, as Hegel says, come from nothing through nothing to nothing.²⁹³ So far I haven't had time to read Schlüter's controversy with your Germans, but shall get down to it tomorrow. To

judge by previous articles in the *Volkszeitung* the right tone seems to have been struck....

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 448

**ENGELS TO KARL KAUTSKY
IN STUTTGART**

London, July 28, 1894

...Not a single intelligent correspondent, apart from Sorge and Schläuter, can be found anywhere in America, because the Germans there stubbornly maintain the same sectarian attitude towards the masses of workers as that to which the Social-Democratic Federation clings here. Instead of noticing the element which drives forward the American movements, and which, even though by wrong and circuitous routes, must in the end lead to the same results as those they have brought with them from Europe, they notice only the wrong routes, look down superciliously on the blind stupid Americans, insist on their orthodox superiority and repulse the Americans instead of attracting them, and consequently they themselves remain a powerless small sect. For this reason too their writers lapse into pure ideology and interpret all relations in a wrong and narrow way....

**ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, November 10, 1894
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...The movement over here still resembles the American movement, save that it is *somewhat* ahead of you. The mass instinct that the workers must form a party of their own against the two official parties is getting stronger and stronger; this was more apparent than ever in the municipal elections on November 1. But all kinds of old traditional memories and a lack of people capable of transforming this instinct into conscious action that will embrace the entire country tends to keep the

workers in this preliminary stage which is marked by haziness of thought and local isolation of action. Anglo-Saxon sectarianism prevails in the labour movement, too. The Social-Democratic Federation, just like your German Socialist Workers' Party, has managed to transform our theory into the rigid dogma of an orthodox sect; it is narrowly minded exclusive and, thanks to Hyndman, has a thoroughly rotten tradition in international politics, which is shaken from time to time, to be sure, but which has not yet been thrown overboard.

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*,
p. 449

****)ENGELS TO FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE
IN HOBOKEN**

London, January 16, 1895
41, Regent's Park Road, N.W.

...I have noticed the temporary decline of the movement in America for some time, and the German socialists will not check it. America is the *youngest*, but also the *oldest* country in the world. In the same way as you have furniture of the most antiquated type alongside pieces of furniture specially invented over there, you have cabs in Boston such as I last saw in London in 1838, and stagecoaches in the mountains dating from the seventeenth century alongside the Pullman cars, and similarly you retain all the intellectual old clothes discarded in Europe. Anything that is obsolete over here can survive in America for another one or two generations. Karl Heinzen, for instance, not to mention religious and spiritualist superstition. Thus the old Lassalleans still survive among you, and men like Sanial, who would be superannuated in France today, can still play a role over there. The reason is, on the one hand, that owing to concern for material production and enrichment, America is only now beginning to have time for free intellectual labour and the general education required for it; and, on the other hand, the conflict inherent in the development of America, which on the one side is still engaged in the *primary* task—the reclamation of huge areas of virgin land—on the other however is already compelled to enter the competition for first place in industrial production. Hence the ups and downs of the movement, depending upon whether the mind of the industrial worker or that of the pioneering farmer gains predominance

in the average man's head. Things will be different in a couple of years, and then great progress will be observed. For the Anglo-Saxon race with its old Germanic freedom develops in a rather singular way, it moves slowly following a zigzag course (small zigzags here in England, enormous ones in your country), it is tacking against the wind, but moving ahead none the less....

NOTES
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NOTES

¹ Engels wrote this work in reply to the opponents of communism who maintained that communism was unrealisable. As can be judged from his letter to Marx, at the beginning of October 1844 Engels started working on a short pamphlet to give an account of how communism had "already been put into practice in England and America". His main source was a series of 29 letters written by John Finch, an English traveller, and published in *The New Moral World* between January 13 and October 19, 1844, under the title "Notes of Travel in the United States".
p. 33

² The quotation is from: Finch, Letter V, *The New Moral World* No. 33, February 10, 1844
p. 36

³ The quotation is from the correspondence of Lawrence Pitkeithly, "Where to, and how to proceed. Description of the Shaker Villages" (*The Northern Star* No. 286, May 6, 1843).
p. 36

⁴ The quotations are from: Finch, Letters VI and VII, *The New Moral World* Nos. 34 and 35, February 17 and 24, 1844.
p. 38

⁵ Here and below in the description of the separatists' colony Engels made use of: Finch, Letters VIII and IX, *The New Moral World* Nos. 36 and 37, March 2 and 9, 1844.
p. 39

⁶ The *Unitarians* (or *Anti-Trinitarians*) are a religious trend which rejects the dogma of the "Holy Trinity". The Unitarian church was established in England and America in the 17th century; its doctrines emphasise the moral and ethical side of the Christian religion in contrast to its external ritual aspect.
p. 41

⁷ *Young America*—an organisation of American craftsmen and workers; it formed the nucleus of the mass *National Reform Association* founded in 1845 which proclaimed as its aim free allotment of land to every working man. In the second half of the 1840s the Association agitated for a land reform, opposing the slave-owning planters and land profiteers; it put forward democratic demands (introduction of a ten-hour working day, abolition of slavery and of the standing army, etc.).

Many German emigrant craftsmen took part in the movement for a land reform. Krieger and his group, who at one time sided with the National Reform Association, diverted the German emigrants from the struggle for democratic aims by preaching reactionary utopian ideas of "true socialism".
p. 44

⁸ Marx cites the report of the commission under the chairmanship of William Morris Meredith to investigate the operation of the Poor Law. The report was submitted to the Pennsylvania Congress on January 29, 1825 and published in the *Register of Pennsylvania* in August 1828.
p. 47

- ⁹ The titles of this and the next two articles have been supplied by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, CC CPSU. p. 50
- ¹⁰ The reference is to the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1848 in France which led to the overthrow of the July monarchy and the establishment of a republic. p. 50
- ¹¹ In 1833 the British Parliament passed a law prohibiting slavery in the colonies. A sum of £20 million was assigned as compensation to slave-owning planters. p. 55
- ¹² The reference is to the suppression of the insurrection of the Paris proletariat in June 1848. p. 60
- ¹³ Here the manuscript has quotation marks and a blank space left apparently with the intention of inserting the title of Carey's book. Most probably Marx had in mind *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign*, Philadelphia, 1853, about which he wrote to Engels on June 14, 1853 referring to it as *Slavery at Home and Abroad*. p. 67
- ¹⁴ An ironical allusion to Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*. p. 67
- ¹⁵ Engels thus designated the members of the Frankfurt National Assembly who were drawing up an imperial Constitution. p. 70
- ¹⁶ The reference is to: J. F. W. Johnston, *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical, and Social*, Volumes I-II, Edinburgh and London, 1851. p. 70
- ¹⁷ The reference is to: A. K. Johnston, *The Physical Atlas of Natural Phenomena: A series of maps and illustrations of the geographical distribution of natural phenomena*, first published in Edinburgh and London in 1848. p. 70
- ¹⁸ The reference is to: H. Ch. Carey, *The Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign: why it exists, and how it may be extinguished*, Philadelphia, 1853. p. 71
- ¹⁹ The reference is to: R. S. Ripley, *The War with Mexico*. In two volumes, New York, 1849. p. 72
- ²⁰ The reference is to: A. de Solis, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico, población, y progresos de la América septentrional, conocida por el nombre de Nueva España*, Madrid, 1732. p. 72
- ²¹ On October 16, 1859, John Brown, a fighter for the emancipation of the Negroes in the USA, attempted to start a slave revolt in the slave states. With a small contingent of associates he seized the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, but failed to raise a mass revolt. Nearly all the participants (22 men, including 5 Negroes) were killed resisting the government troops. Brown and five of his comrades-in-arms were executed. p. 74
- ²² The reference is to an attempt made by the Negroes of the town of Bolivar, Missouri, to start a revolt in December 1859. Marx has in mind an item published in *The New-York Daily Tribune* No. 5830, December 30, 1859. p. 74

- ²³ On the events at Harper's Ferry see Note 21. On the revolt in Missouri see Note 22. p. 74
- ²⁴ The reference is to the cotton report by W.P. Wright and Co. published in *The New-York Daily Tribune* No. 5839, on January 11, 1860. p. 74
- ²⁵ The *American Workers' League*—a mass political organisation of US workers founded in New York on March 21, 1853. Most of its members were German emigrant workers. Weydemeyer was a member of its organising Central Committee. The main aims of the League were the establishment of trade unions, higher wages, shorter working hours, and independent political action by the workers. In 1855 the League practically ceased to exist but was revived in New York under the name of the General Labor Union in 1857. One of its branches was the Chicago Workers' Association formed by German emigrant workers in 1857. In 1860 this association took over the leadership of the US workers' organisations, and the General Labor Union ceased to exist. p. 75
- ²⁶ The reference is to Weydemeyer's letter to Marx of March 17, 1860 in which he asked Marx to find European correspondents for the *Stimme des Volkes*, a newspaper founded by the Chicago Workers' Association whose editorship he had been offered. p. 75
- ²⁷ The American writer Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe, an active Abolitionist, wrote a letter to Lord Shaftesbury which was published at the beginning of September 1861. In it she gave a correct appraisal of the Civil War in the United States as an anti-slavery war and exposed the injustice of the Confederates' cause. She expressed indignation at Britain's attitude to the American war and appealed for assistance to the Federals. p. 79
- ²⁸ The reference is to the provisional Constitution adopted on February 4, 1861 at the Congress at Montgomery (Alabama) by six Southern slave states—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana—which had seceded from the Union. The Congress at Montgomery proclaimed the establishment of a slave-owning state—the Confederate States of America—and elected Jefferson Davis its provisional president. Texas joined the Confederacy on March 2, 1861, and the four border states (Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee) in May 1861. p. 79
- ²⁹ On the Missouri Compromise see pp. 86-87. p. 80
- ³⁰ Th. Jefferson, *Memoirs, Correspondence and Private Papers*, Vol. IV, London, 1829. p. 80
- ³¹ On the Kansas-Nebraska Bill see p. 87. p. 80
- ³² The reference is to James Buchanan, a Democrat, who in 1854, when US Ambassador to London, issued the Ostend Manifesto jointly with US diplomats in France and Spain, recommending that the US government should purchase or annex the island of Cuba, which then belonged to Spain. In 1856 Buchanan was elected President of the USA (see also p. 88 of this book). The *Dred Scott case*—a legal suit instituted in 1846 by a Negro slave Dred Scott to obtain his freedom when he was with his master in Illinois and subsequently in Minnesota where slavery was prohibited under the Missouri

Compromise. The case was dragged on until 1857, when the US Supreme Court turned down his plea (see also p. 87).
p. 80

³³ The *Kansas war*—an armed struggle in Kansas from 1854 to 1856 between the advocates of slavery who wanted to make Kansas a slave state and the opponents of slavery, mostly farmers. Though the opponents of slavery won several victories Kansas fell into the hands of the advocates of slavery, who received armed support from the Federal Government. However, the majority of the state's population continued the struggle and demanded that Kansas should be admitted into the Union as a free state (see also p. 89).
p. 80

³⁴ See Note 21.
p. 81

³⁵ In November 1832 the state Convention of South Carolina repealed the federal tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 which had imposed high import tariffs. The Ordinance of Nullification of November 24, 1832 called on the citizens of the state to defend their independence of the Federal Government and threatened secession from the Union. Having received Congress sanction to use armed forces, President Jackson sent troops to South Carolina but under pressure from the slave-owning planters he approved a compromise lowering of tariffs on March 2, 1833. Before long the state of South Carolina cancelled its nullification decision.

The *Morrill tariff*—a protectionist tariff bill submitted to Congress by the Republican Morrill. It was passed by the House of Representatives in May 1860 and after endorsement by the Senate became law on March 2, 1861. It provided for higher customs duty in the USA.
p. 82

³⁶ The reference is to the repeal of the federal tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 by South Carolina in 1832 (see Note 35).
p. 85

³⁷ *Faneuil Hall*—a building presented to the city of Boston by the merchant Peter Faneuil in 1742. During the War of Independence meetings of American patriots were held there.
p. 85

³⁸ See Note 32.
p. 87

³⁹ The reference is to the *Fugitive Slave Act* adopted by Congress in September 1850 to supplement the Act of 1793 providing for the return of fugitive slaves. Under this new Act special commissioners for capturing fugitive slaves were appointed in all states. A reward was given for each Negro returned. The authorities and the population of the Northern states were obliged to render all possible assistance to these commissioners. Violation of the law was punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars and six months' imprisonment. The introduction of the law resulted in intensification of the abolition movement. It was finally repealed in 1864.
p. 88

⁴⁰ One of the main demands of the *Free-Soilers*—members of a mass democratic farmers' party formed in the USA in 1848—was that for free allotment of land in the West, where the land was state property. The Free-Soilers also demanded the abolition of slavery in new territories seized from Mexico and prohibition of the sale of land to big landowners and profiteers. These demands constantly met with the resistance from representatives of slave states in the Congress and the US government. The Homestead Bill introduced in Congress in 1854 was adopted by the House of Representatives

but rejected by the Senate. When in 1860 both Houses at last adopted a bill, which provided that settlers would pay a comparatively small sum for the land they cultivated, President Buchanan vetoed it.
p. 88

⁴¹ See Note 32.
p. 88

⁴² The US Constitution of 1787, which legalised Negro slavery in the states where it already existed, allowed slaves to be freely imported to these states for a period of twenty years after its adoption. Only on March 2, 1807 was a law passed prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa or any other place. This law, which came into force as from January 1, 1808, envisaged a series of measures against slave trade including confiscation of ships carrying slaves and of all their cargo. In actual fact the law was often violated, and there was extensive smuggling of slaves. As a result the importation of Negro slaves even increased in the years preceding the Civil War.
p. 88

⁴³ The reference is to the ending in 1837, due to the death of the last representative of the Hanover dynasty, of the union between England and Hanover which had existed since 1714.
p. 93

⁴⁴ The reference is to the attempts by supporters of the Southern states to sever California from the Union in the winter of 1860-61 by setting up a "neutral" Pacific republic. The plot was discovered in time by the Lincoln Administration.
p. 98

⁴⁵ *Helots*—state serfs in ancient Sparta bound to the soil and assigned to Spartan masters to whom they were obliged to pay a certain proportion of the produce of their holding. Their condition differed little from that of slaves.
p. 99

⁴⁶ The *Missouri proclamation* issued by General Frémont on August 30, 1861 declared, along with the confiscation of the property of the Confederate supporters, the emancipation of slaves belonging to insurgents. Lincoln suggested to Frémont to bring his proclamation in conformity with the law on confiscation, omitting the clause concerning emancipation of the slaves. The confiscation law passed by Congress on August 6, 1861 envisaged only emancipation of the slaves employed by the insurgents for military purposes. In October 1861 Frémont was dismissed from his post of army commander in Missouri for failing to fulfil the President's demands.
p. 99

⁴⁷ In 1833, after the uprising of Negro slaves on the island of Jamaica, the British Parliament passed a law abolishing slavery in the colonies. A sum of £20 million was assigned as compensation to slave-owning planters in the West Indies.
p. 99

⁴⁸ See Note 46.
p. 101

⁴⁹ The reference is to the war of the USA against Mexico in 1846-48, which resulted in the USA annexing nearly half the territory of the country including Texas, Upper California, New Mexico and other regions.
p. 101

⁵⁰ *Irrepressible conflict*—an expression used by Seward in his speech in Rochester (New York State) in October 1858 which later became very popular. Seward had in mind the irreconcilable contradictions between the South and the North and the inevitability of a conflict between them.
p. 102

⁵¹ *Pathfinder*—the title of one of Fenimore Cooper's popular novels. It was

- given to Frémont because of his exploration of California. p. 102
- ⁵² On July 21, 1861 the first major battle of the Civil War took place at *Bull Run* River near the town of Manassas (south-west of Washington). In this battle the Confederate army defeated numerically superior but poorly trained troops of the Federals. In the battle at *Ball's Bluff* (north-west of Washington) on October 21, 1861, the Confederates defeated several regiments of General Stone's army, which had crossed over to the right bank of the Potomac and were left there without reinforcements. Both battles revealed serious shortcomings in organisation and tactics of the Federal army. p. 102
- ⁵³ F. Th. Pratt, *Law of Contraband of War*, first published in London in 1856. p. 104
- ⁵⁴ Th. Jefferson, *Memoirs, Correspondence and Private Papers*, Vol. III, London, 1829. p. 104
- ⁵⁵ *Duns Scotus controversies*—a method of scholastic disputes by contraposing mutually excluding arguments (pro and contra) which got its name from Duns Scotus, a medieval Scottish nominalist philosopher in whose works this method was widely used. p. 104
- ⁵⁶ The *law officers of the Crown*—the highest judicial officials in England—the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General. p. 106
- ⁵⁷ On May 13, 1861 in response to the blockade of the Confederate ports declared by the United States in April of that year, Queen Victoria issued a *proclamation of neutrality* in the war between the Northern and the Southern states (see p. 113 of this book). The proclamation stated that blockade of the South would be approved only if it were effective. At the same time the proclamation recognised the right of the Confederates to seize Federal ships on the high seas. Thus it in fact recognised the belligerent status of the Confederacy. p. 106
- ⁵⁸ *Prize courts* are usually established by belligerent countries on their respective territories to verify the legality of the capture of prizes. Sea prizes include enemy merchantmen and cargoes captured in time of war, and also neutral vessels carrying war contraband. p. 106
- ⁵⁹ J. Spence, *The American Union; an Inquiry into Its Real Effects on the Well-Being of the United States, and into the Causes of Its Disruption; with an Examination of Secession as a Constitutional Right*, London, 1861. p. 107
- ⁶⁰ The reference is to the neutrality of Kentucky in the early period of the Civil War (see p. 96 of this book). p. 109
- ⁶¹ W. F. P. Napier, *History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814*, Vols. I-VI, London, 1828-40. p. 110
- ⁶² H. Wheaton, *Elements of International Law, with a Sketch of the History of the Science*, first published in Philadelphia in 1836. p. 113
- ⁶³ T. Walker, *Introduction to American Law*, first published in Philadelphia in 1837. p. 114

- ⁶⁴ J. Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, Vols. I-IV, first published in New York from 1826 to 1830. p. 114
- ⁶⁵ R. Phillimore, *Commentaries on International Law*, first published in four volumes in London from 1854 to 1861. p. 114
- ⁶⁶ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, first published in 1755.. p. 115
- ⁶⁷ J. Walker, *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. p. 115
- ⁶⁸ E. Vattel, *Le droit des gens, ou principes de la loi naturelle appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains*, first published in two volumes in Leyden in 1758. p. 115
- ⁶⁹ *The last of the Englishmen*—an expression copied on “the last of the Romans”, which usually denotes Caesar’s assassins—Brutus and Cassius—who in the period of decline of the Roman republic preserved its mores and notions. By calling Urquhart the “last of the Englishmen” Marx ridiculed his love for old outdated English institutions. p. 116
- ⁷⁰ The reference is to President Madison’s message to Congress on June 1, 1812 in which he accused Great Britain of hostile actions against the USA, in particular, of capturing American sailors and blockading the US Atlantic coast. The message called for a rebuff to these actions. On June 18, 1812 the US Congress declared war on Britain. p. 119
- ⁷¹ In 1842 a British representative, Lord Ashburton, and a representative of the United States, Webster, carried on negotiations which resulted on August 9, 1842 in the signing of a treaty on the border-line between the United States and the British possessions in America, on the prohibition of slave trade and on the extradition of fugitive criminals. However, this treaty did not limit Britain’s right to search American ships suspected of slave trade. p. 119
- ⁷² Jenkins—a name used to denote a toady. Rhodomonte—a character in Ariosto’s poem “*I’Orlando Furioso*” notorious for his bragging. p. 121
- ⁷³ The reference is to a letter of the American General Winfield Scott published in *The Times* on December 6, 1861. Expressing his attitude towards the *Trent* case, General Scott said that nobody in the USA was for war with Britain and that he favoured a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the two states. p. 121
- ⁷⁴ *Black contraband* during the American Civil War meant Negroes who had fled from insurgent slave-owners and sought refuge in Northern army camps. Despite the instructions of the Washington government some Northern army generals refused from the very beginning of the war to give up these Negroes to their former owners on the grounds that slaves belonging to the insurgents should be dealt with as war contraband. p. 122
- ⁷⁵ By *democratic regency* Marx meant the leading group of the US Democratic Party in the State of New York, which existed till 1854 and was known as the Albany regency, because it had its seat in Albany—capital of the State of New York. The Albany regency was the national centre of the US Democratic Party. p. 122

- ⁷⁶ On November 19, 1861 the Confederate cruiser *Nashville* attacked the Federal merchantman *Harvey Birch* on the high seas and set her on fire. On November 21, the *Nashville* took refuge in the British port of Southampton. p. 124
- ⁷⁷ On January 6, 1861 in the traditional annual message to the city council, Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York, suggested a plan for the secession of New York from the Northern states and of its proclamation as a free city. p. 124
- ⁷⁸ The reference is to an incident in the US Senate during the Kansas war (see Note 33). On May 19 and 20, 1856 Republican Senator Charles Sumner in a speech in Congress exposed the intrigues of the slave-owners in Kansas, thus arousing the fury of the slave-owners and their supporters in Congress. Two days later, he was beaten up and severely injured by a slave-owner named Brooks in the Senate building. He could not resume political activity until 1859. p. 124
- ⁷⁹ The reference is to the *Declaration on the Principles of International Maritime Law* adopted at the Paris Congress on April 16, 1856, which prohibited privateering and provided for the protection of neutral merchantmen against attacks by belligerent powers. p. 126
- ⁸⁰ The reference is to Queen Victoria's proclamation of neutrality of May 13, 1861 (see Note 57). p. 126
- ⁸¹ *Young Napoleon*—a nickname given to McClellan by his Democratic Party adherents, he being the first general in the annals of the American army to have been appointed commander-in-chief at the comparatively young age of 34. p. 127
- ⁸² The *Crimean War of 1853-56* (the Eastern War)—a war between Russia on the one hand and Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia on the other, which resulted from a clash of these countries' economic and political interests in the Middle East. p. 127
- ⁸³ The term *Fabian tactics* originated from the name of the Roman statesman and general Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, called "Cunctator" ("the Delayer") because of his tactics of avoiding pitched battles against Hannibal during the 2nd Punic War (218-201 B.C.). p. 127
- ⁸⁴ Th. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, in three volumes, was first published in 1843. p. 128
- ⁸⁵ *West Point* (near New York)—location of the US military academy founded in 1802, the only higher military school in the USA in the mid-19th century. p. 128
- ⁸⁶ There is inaccuracy in the text. The reference is to Cromwell's speech in the Barebone's Parliament which opened on July 4, 1653 and consisted of representatives of the independent church communities. Th. Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, the first edition was published in London in 1845. p. 128
- ⁸⁷ See Note 52. p. 131

- ⁸⁸ At *Jemappes* (Belgium) on November 6, 1792 the French army under the command of Dumouriez won a major victory over the Austrians. At *Fleurus* (Belgium) on June 26, 1794 the French troops routed the Austrian army. At *Montenotte*, *Castiglione* and *Rivoli* during the Italian campaign of 1796-97 the French army defeated the Austrian and Piedmontese armies in Piedmont and Lombardy. p. 131
- ⁸⁹ See Note 52. p. 133
- ⁹⁰ The reference is to battles during the Austro-Italo-French war of 1859. At *Magenta* (June 4, 1859) the French army defeated the Austrians. At *Solférino* (June 24, 1859) the Austrian army was defeated by the Franco-Italian army. p. 135
- ⁹¹ The *cordon system* (cordon strategy)—a method of waging war widely used in Western Europe in the 18th century. The forces were deployed evenly along the whole front to protect the country against enemy invasion. Such a disposition made it possible for the enemy to break through the defence line at any point. p. 136
- ⁹² In the battles of *Millesimo* and *Dego* (Northern Italy) which took place on April 13-14 and 14-15, 1796 Bonaparte's army defeated a group of Austrian forces which was part of the allied Piedmontese army, and also another group which had been sent to the aid of the first. Following this the French army fell on the Piedmontese army and, having defeated it several times, compelled the king of Piedmont to conclude a separate peace (see also Note 88). p. 136
- ⁹³ In the course of the Civil War the strategic plan to defeat the Confederacy expounded by Marx and Engels in this article proved to be the only correct one. The Confederate army was utterly defeated only after the Federal command had carried out a similar plan in the second half of 1864. General Sherman's famous "march to the sea" divided the Confederate territory in two and prepared the necessary conditions for the defeat of the Confederate army by General Grant's troops. In the spring of 1865 the Confederates capitulated. p. 138
- ⁹⁴ On April 29, 1862 New Orleans fell following the surrender of the forts which protected the approach to the city from the Mississippi. On May 1 the Federal forces entered the city. p. 139
- ⁹⁵ *Reuter*, *Havas*, *Wolff*—telegraph agencies of Britain, France, and Germany respectively. p. 139
- ⁹⁶ *Saragossa* became famous for its heroic defence during the national liberation struggle of the Spanish people against Napoleon's army which besieged the city in 1808 and 1809. It surrendered only on February 21, 1809 after the second siege lasting two months. *Moscow*, which played an important role in the 1812 Patriotic War of the Russian people against the Napoleonic invasion, became a symbol of national resistance. p. 139
- ⁹⁷ *Crescent city*—a popular name for New Orleans, the old part of which lies on the crescent-shaped delta of the Mississippi. p. 139
- ⁹⁸ The law of January 1, 1808 prohibiting the importation of slaves (see Note 42) did not apply to slave trade on US territory, between the slave states of the

- South and South-west, mainly in the southern coastal towns. The prohibition of the importation of Negro slaves even led to an extension of slave trade within the country, the Southern states such as Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina becoming the slave-selling states. A bill introduced by Senator Sumner on May 2, 1862 abrogated some clauses of the 1808 law regulating slave trade on the US coast, and prohibited transportation of slaves from one state to another. p. 143
- ⁹⁹ See Note 52. p. 145
- ¹⁰⁰ *Yankee Doodle*—a song, popular in the North during the American Civil War. p. 145
- ¹⁰¹ See Note 39. p. 149
- ¹⁰² President Lincoln appealed on July 12, 1862 to the representatives of the border states in the US Congress to make a start with the gradual emancipation of the Negro slaves on a compensation basis in order to hasten the end of the war. p. 149
- ¹⁰³ The *Homestead Act* passed on May 20, 1862 provided that any citizen of the USA or alien who had declared his intention of becoming one could receive 160 acres of public land on payment of \$10. The land became his exclusive property after he had cultivated it for 5 years, or earlier, on condition that he paid \$1.25 per acre. Passed under popular pressure, this Act was one of the revolutionary measures which brought about a turn in the Civil War in favour of the Northerners. p. 149
- ¹⁰⁴ The seven days' battle before Richmond (June 25-July 1, 1862) on the swampy and impassable banks of the Chickahominy River ended in withdrawal of the Northern army under McClellan's command. p. 152
- ¹⁰⁵ The Confederates' offensive in Maryland, begun on September 4, 1862, ended in their defeat at Antietam Creek on September 17. p. 154
- ¹⁰⁶ The Confederates, who had invaded the State of Kentucky on September 12, 1862, were defeated by the Federals at Perryville on October 8. p. 154
- ¹⁰⁷ The reference is to the farmers of the Western states of the USA, called the Great West in the 19th century. p. 155
- ¹⁰⁸ Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862) freed as of January 1, 1863 all the Negro slaves belonging to rebellious planters of the South. Besides, all Negroes were given the right to serve in the Army and the Navy. However, freed without land the Negroes continued to be victims of ruthless exploitation and race discrimination by their former owners, since the planters retained their ruling position in the South. p. 155
- ¹⁰⁹ Apparently an allusion to G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik*, Werke, Bd. X, Abt. III, Berlin, 1838, S. 526-40. p. 156
- ¹¹⁰ On October 3, 1862 the Confederates under the command of Generals Price and Van Dorn attacked the Federal positions at Corinth. The two days' battle ended in the defeat and withdrawal of the Confederate army. p. 160

- ¹¹¹ The reference is to the Confederates' unsuccessful attempt in October 1862 to retake Nashville which they had abandoned in February the same year. p. 160
- ¹¹² The reference is to the elections to the House of Representatives of the US Congress held in the Northern states on November 4, 1862 and simultaneous elections of the governor of New York. Though the Republicans won in most of the Northern states they lost a considerable number of votes compared with the previous elections because New York and the states of the Northwest voted for the Democrats. Horatio Seymour, a Democratic Party leader, became governor of the State of New York. p. 163
- ¹¹³ The *Whig Party* existed in the USA from 1834 till 1852, when the acute struggle over the slavery issue brought about a split and rearrangement in political parties. It represented the interests of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and a section of planters adhering to it. In 1854 the Whig majority, the Free Soilers (see Note 40) and a section of the Democratic Party formed the Republican Party, which advocated a limitation of slavery. The remainder of the Whig Party sided with the Democratic Party, which defended the interests of slave-owning planters. p. 163
- ¹¹⁴ On October 31, 1862, the French government through the diplomatic representatives of Britain and Russia suggested that the three powers should take joint action aimed at a temporary cessation of hostilities, a lifting of the blockade and opening the US Southern ports to European trade. The proposal of Napoleon III to intervene in the domestic affairs of the USA was rejected by Russia on November 8, 1862, and later by the British government. p. 164
- ¹¹⁵ On September 15, 1862 during the invasion of Maryland, the Confederate army under Jackson captured the important point on the Potomac—Harper's Ferry, with its 10,000-strong garrison and a big arsenal. p. 166
- ¹¹⁶ The *cotton crisis* was caused by the stoppage of cotton deliveries from America due to the blockade of the Southern slave states by the Federal fleet. Most of the European cotton industry was paralysed, and this worsened the condition of the workers. p. 168
- ¹¹⁷ These words are from a speech in defence of slavery by Alexander Stephens, a Confederate leader, on March 19, 1861. p. 170
- ¹¹⁸ On April 15, 1861 in response to the hostilities started by the Confederacy the Lincoln Administration called for 75,000 volunteers hoping to put an end to the conflict within three months. Actually, the Civil War ended only in 1865. p. 170
- ¹¹⁹ The reference is to the *Hundred Years' War* (1337-1453) between France and England, and the European *Thirty Years' War* (1618-48) in which Germany was the principal theatre of operations; by the *twenty-three years' war* Marx meant the wars waged by the European coalition against the French Republic and Napoleonic France, which lasted from 1792 till 1815. p. 170
- ¹²⁰ The reference is to the Congress at Montgomery (Alabama) of the six seceded Southern slave states—South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—held from February 4 to March 16, 1861. The Congress

- proclaimed the establishment of the Confederate States of America and adopted a provisional Constitution (see also Note 28). p. 172
- ¹²¹ Engels refers to the presidential election held in November 1860 at which Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, was elected president. In accordance with the US Constitution, on March 4, 1861, the new president should have assumed office. p. 173
- ¹²² In June 1861 the population of the German colony of St. Louis (Missouri) formed 4 volunteer regiments and offered armed resistance to rebels' attempts to sever the State of Missouri away from the Union and make it join the Confederacy. p. 174
- ¹²³ The reference is to the border slave states of Delaware, Missouri and Maryland and the adjacent federal city of Washington, which refused to join the Confederacy. The State of Kentucky was declared neutral. For details see Marx's article "The Civil War in the United States" (pp. 93-100). p. 174
- ¹²⁴ See Note 19. p. 175
- ¹²⁵ The reference is to an abortive attempt of the Union militia commanded by General Peirce to capture fortified positions of the Confederates at Big Bethel, near the Monroe fortress (Virginia). During the night battle the troops of General Peirce fired on one of their own units taking it for the enemy. Marx ironically called the general "the tailor"—comparing him with the title character of one of the Grimm brothers' tales. p. 175
- ¹²⁶ See Note 33. p. 176
- ¹²⁷ See Note 120. p. 176
- ¹²⁸ See Note 125. p. 177
- ¹²⁹ The reference is to the by-elections to Congress in June 1861. p. 178
- ¹³⁰ See Note 28. p. 178
- ¹³¹ The reference is to the counter-revolutionary coup of Louis Bonaparte on December 2, 1851. p. 179
- ¹³² This refers to free but dependent on the slave-owners landless population of the Southern slave states. For details see Marx's article "The North American Civil War" (p. 91). p. 179
- ¹³³ The reference is to Frémont's dismissal from the post of army commander in Missouri in October 1861 for a proclamation he issued concerning the emancipation of Negro slaves belonging to rebellious slave-owners. For details see Marx's article "The Dismissal of Frémont" (pp. 101-02). p. 181
- ¹³⁴ The reference is to the attacks of Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland by the Union forces under General Grant in February 1862. Fort Donelson surrendered with some 14,000 men. For details see Marx' and Engels' article "The American Civil War" (pp. 133-35). Engels' report, based on newspaper sources, of the Confederate General

Johnston's surrender is erroneous.
On the *battle of Bull Run* see Note 52.

p. 181

- ¹³⁵ The battle mentioned by Marx took place on April 6 and 7, 1862, at Corinth. On April 6 the Confederates under Beauregard defeated General Grant's army near Pittsburg Landing (north-east of Corinth), but on the following day, when reinforcements from General Buell's army had arrived, the Confederates were driven back to Corinth by the counter-attacking Union troops. p. 182

- ¹³⁶ K. Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1832, viertes Buch: "Das Gefecht", S. 283 und andere. p. 182

- ¹³⁷ The *Merrimac*—the Confederates' first ironclad ship, which sunk several Federal men-of-war in March 1862. On May 11, 1862, after they had withdrawn from their naval base in Norfolk (Virginia), the Confederates burnt the ship to prevent her from falling into the Federals' hands. p. 185

- ¹³⁸ The reference is to the article "The Civil War in America" published in *The Times* on May 27, 1862.
Coercion Bills—exceptional laws passed by British Parliament in 1833 and 1847 to suppress the revolutionary movement in Ireland. Under these laws a state of siege was declared on Irish territory, and the English authorities were vested with extraordinary powers. p. 186

- ¹³⁹ The reference is to the article "Extent and Bearing of Federal Successes" published in *The Economist*, vol. XX, No. 978, May 24, 1862, p. 562. p. 186

- ¹⁴⁰ See Note 35. p. 186

- ¹⁴¹ Engels has in mind the figures given by James Spence in his article "American Affairs" published in *The Times* on June 4, 1862. p. 187

- ¹⁴² The ideas expounded by Engels in this letter were developed by Marx in an article entitled "A Criticism of American Affairs" published in *Die Presse*, August 9, 1862 (see pp. 148-50 of this book). p. 188

- ¹⁴³ *The Territories*—US possessions north-west of the Ohio River where there was no slavery and a population of less than the 60 thousand required under the US Constitution for the establishment of independent states (see also p. 86 of this book). p. 189

- ¹⁴⁴ Marx has in mind the sinking fund established by Pitt the Younger of Britain in 1786 with the aim of raising funds to pay off the national debt. The financial measures to provide this fund included increasing old indirect taxes and introducing new ones. p. 190

- ¹⁴⁵ The propositions put forward by Marx in this letter were used as a basis for his article "A Criticism of American Affairs" published in *Die Presse* on August 9, 1862 (see pp. 148-50 of this book). p. 190

- ¹⁴⁶ The reference is to the second battle on the Bull Run near Manassas (south-west of Washington) which took place on August 29 and 30, 1862. General Pope's troops sustained a severe defeat and withdrew in the direction of Washington. To avoid the surrender of the Union capital the Federal

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- command was forced to bring up reinforcements. p. 191
- ¹⁴⁷ The reference is to the order of the War Department in Washington under which the rank of Brigade General or Major General was conferred only on officers of the regular army for exemplary service. Volunteer officers could be promoted to these ranks only if they had distinguished themselves in battle and shown appropriate military efficiency. p. 191
- ¹⁴⁸ For details on Maryland campaign see Marx's article "Comments on the North American Events" (see pp. 154-56 of this book). p. 192
- ¹⁴⁹ See notes 106 and 108. p. 192
- ¹⁵⁰ See Note 143 and p. 86 of this book. p. 192
- ¹⁵¹ Marx has in mind the chronic financial crisis in Austria which set in in 1848. It manifested itself in a huge growth of the national debt, devaluation of the currency and a massive issue of paper money. p. 192
- ¹⁵² See Note 144. p. 193
- ¹⁵³ As the Federal government was interested in raising funds for the war it paid exceptionally high interest rates to bankers who made it loans in gold. *The Times* reported that in October 1862 the rate of interest reached 29 per cent—several times the usual rate. p. 193
- ¹⁵⁴ By *Lincoln's Acts* Marx means a series of revolutionary-democratic measures carried out by the Lincoln Administration in the middle of 1862. Most important among them were Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (see Note 108) and the Homestead Act passed on May 20, 1862 on free allotment of land which signified a democratic settlement of the agrarian question. Of great importance also were the purging of treacherous elements from the army and the state apparatus, the Act on confiscation of rebellious planters' property and other measures which ensured the victory of the Federals in the Civil War. For details see Marx's articles "A Criticism of American Affairs" and "Comments on the North American Events" (pp. 148-50 and 154-56 of this book). p. 193
- ¹⁵⁵ See Note 112. p. 194
- ¹⁵⁶ See Note 85. p. 195
- ¹⁵⁷ See Note 110. p. 195
- ¹⁵⁸ Marx ironically compares the Confederacy with the Swiss Sonderbund. The Sonderbund was a separatist union formed by the seven economically backward Catholic cantons founded in 1843 to resist bourgeois reforms in Switzerland. The Decree of the Swiss Diet on the dissolution of the Sonderbund served as a pretext for the latter to start hostilities against the other cantons in November 1847. The Sonderbund army was defeated by the federal troops.
- Marx developed the propositions formulated in this letter in his article "Symptoms of Dissolution in the Southern Confederacy" published in the newspaper *Die Presse* on November 14, 1862 (see pp. 160-62 of this book). p. 196

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- ¹⁵⁹ The reference is to the suppression by Bonaparte of the royalist mutiny against the Thermidor Convention on October 4 and 5, 1795 in Paris. p. 196
- ¹⁶⁰ The powers of the Republican House of Representatives elected in November 1860 expired on December 4, 1863. p. 196
- ¹⁶¹ See Note 114. p. 196
- ¹⁶² The reference is to an unsuccessful attack of the Federal army under Burnside in December 1862 on strongly fortified Confederate positions in the vicinity of Fredericksburg on the south bank of the Rappahannock River (Virginia). Though General Burnside's army had approached Fredericksburg on November 17, due to the lack of necessary equipment the crossing of the river and the operations for capturing the fortifications began only in mid-December, by which time the Confederates had managed to strengthen their positions considerably. After a series of unsuccessful attacks on the Confederate positions, General Burnside's army withdrew to the north bank of the Rappahannock in the night of December 14. p. 196
- ¹⁶³ The reference is to Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which set free Negro slaves belonging to the rebellious planters of the South as of January 1, 1863. p. 198
- ¹⁶⁴ At the end of December 1862 mass meetings of workers and democrats were organised in London, Manchester and Sheffield in solidarity with the Northern states of America in their struggle against Negro slavery. p. 198
- ¹⁶⁵ Apparently an allusion to diplomatic correspondence which William Seward laid before Congress in Washington. On the *Trent* affair see pp. 103-05. p. 199
- ¹⁶⁶ The reference is to the defeat of the Northern army under General Hooker in the battle at Chancellorsville (Virginia) on May 2-4, 1863. Despite the defeat Hooker, who had been wounded in the battle, issued an order of the day on May 6 in which he congratulated his army on the successful action in the past seven days. p. 199
- ¹⁶⁷ In early May 1864 Grant's army in Virginia launched a new offensive against Richmond—the Confederates' capital and main stronghold. After stubborn fighting in May and June 1864 Grant's army succeeded in driving the Confederate army to the town itself with great casualties. The operations for capturing Richmond were not completed until April 1865.
- In speaking about *The Times* reports on this campaign Marx had in mind the leading articles of May 25 and 26, 1864 praising the strategy of General Lee, who commanded the Confederate army at the time of Grant's offensive in Virginia. p. 200
- ¹⁶⁸ See Note 90. p. 200
- ¹⁶⁹ The battle of the Wilderness (Virginia) of May 5-7, 1864 opened the Federals' third and last campaign for capturing the Confederate capital Richmond. Though in that battle and those which followed in the summer of 1864 the Federal army under General Grant did not capture Richmond, they inflicted great losses on the enemy and occupied positions for a decisive attack on Richmond in spring 1865. p. 201

- ¹⁷⁰ Richmond, the Confederates' capital and main stronghold, was defended by the picked Southern troops. During Civil War the Federals launched three major campaigns to capture it. The first campaign in July 1861 ended in the Federal defeat at Bull Run on July 21. The second, in the spring and summer of 1862, ended with the Federal army's retreat to Washington. The third campaign, started in May 1864, culminated with the capture of Richmond on April 3, 1865 and played an important part in the final victory of the North. p. 201
- ¹⁷¹ The new strategic plan to rout the Confederates, which the Federal command began executing in May 1864, coincided in many respects with propositions expounded by Marx and Engels in the press in 1862 (see pp. 136-38). Simultaneously with Grant's offensive on the central front in Virginia (see Note 167), General Sherman began his famous "march to the sea" through Georgia on May 7, 1864. Despite heavy losses, the offensive of the Federal army was successful. On September 2, Sherman's troops captured Atlanta; on December 10, they reached the sea. By cutting the Confederate territory in two "the march to the sea" prepared the ground for the utter defeat of the main Confederate forces in Virginia in the spring of 1865. p. 202
- ¹⁷² The reference is to the campaign for the presidential election which was to be held on November 8, 1864 and the simultaneous elections to Congress. This time the Republican Party came out with a more radical programme than in 1860 which Marx analyses in his article "The North American Civil War" (see pp. 89-91). The programme adopted at the National Convention of the Republican Party in Baltimore on June 7, 1864 was an abolitionist one, proclaiming the abolition of slavery throughout the Union. In 1864 Lincoln was re-elected president. p. 202
- ¹⁷³ The reference is to an armed struggle of counter-revolutionary forces headed by the former king of Naples Francis II against the kingdom of Italy formed in March 1861. The actions of the Naples counter-revolutionaries assumed the form of brigand marauding. p. 203
- ¹⁷⁴ The *Carlist War* of 1833-40—a civil war in Spain started by the Carlists, a reactionary clerical and absolutist group supporting the claims of Don Carlos (brother of Ferdinand VII) to the throne. The Carlists found support among the military and the Catholic clergy, and also among backward peasants in several regions of Spain. The war was in fact a struggle between the feudal and Catholic elements on the one hand and liberal-bourgeois elements on the other, which led to the third bourgeois revolution. On events in Naples see Note 173. p. 204
- ¹⁷⁵ Marx cites Weydemeyer's letter to Engels of October 1864. p. 206
- ¹⁷⁶ The reference is to the operations in northern Virginia in the summer of 1863. p. 206
- ¹⁷⁷ See Note 167. p. 207
- ¹⁷⁸ The Danish parliament's adoption on November 13, 1863 of a new constitution proclaiming the incorporation of Schleswig into the kingdom of Denmark contrary to the London protocol of 1852, which stipulated that there could only be a personal union between Denmark and the duchies, was used by Prussia and Austria as a pretext for occupying first Holstein and later

- Schleswig and for presenting an ultimatum to Denmark with a demand for the annulment of the new constitution. Hostilities began in Schleswig on February 1, 1864 with the invasion of the Austro-Prussian army commanded by the Prussian General Wrangel.
- The Danish war was an important stage in the unification of Germany under Prussia. The Vienna peace treaty signed on October 30, 1864 declared Schleswig and Holstein common possessions of Austria and Prussia. After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 both duchies were annexed to Prussia. p. 207
- ¹⁷⁹ *Missunde*—a Danish fort captured by the Prussians on February 2, 1864 during the Danish war. p. 207
- ¹⁸⁰ *Düppel* (Danish name Dübzel)—a Danish fort in Schleswig stormed on April 18, 1864 by the Prussians during the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark. p. 207
- ¹⁸¹ See Note 167. p. 207
- ¹⁸² On Sherman's march see Note 171. p. 208
- ¹⁸³ The reference is to the American Labor Congress held in Baltimore from August 20 to 25, 1866 and attended by 60 delegates representing over 60 thousand trade union members. The Congress discussed questions concerning the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day, the political activities of the workers, cooperative societies, organisation of all workers in trade unions, and others. The Congress decided to form a political working-class organisation—the National Labor Union. p. 213
- ¹⁸⁴ *Fenians*—Irish petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. The first Fenian organisations sprang up in 1857 in Ireland and the United States, where they consisted of Irish emigrants. They demanded national independence of their country, establishment of a democratic republic, conversion of tenant-farmers into owners of the land they tilled, and so on. They hoped to fulfil their political programme through an armed uprising; however, their conspiratorial activities failed. At the end of the 1860s there were mass repressions against the Fenians and in the 1870s the movement disintegrated. p. 214
- ¹⁸⁵ This proposition was formulated by Malthus in his *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, London, 1798. p. 220
- ¹⁸⁶ The reference is to the article "America in the Exhibition" published anonymously in the newspaper *Standard* on September 19, 1862. p. 223
- ¹⁸⁷ The *National Labor Union* was formed in the USA at the Congress in Baltimore in August 1866. It played an important part in the struggle for an independent policy of workers' organisations, for solidarity between black and white workers, for an eight-hour working day and for the rights for working women and soon established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. In 1870-71 the trade unions left the Union and in 1872 it practically ceased to exist. p. 227
- ¹⁸⁸ See Note 187. p. 232
- ¹⁸⁹ These resolutions on the split in the US Federation of the International were

written by Marx and adopted at his proposal at the sittings of the General Council on March 5 and 12, 1872.

In December 1870, representatives of several sections formed a Central Committee in New York as the leading body of the International in the USA. Sections Nos. 9 and 12, headed by Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, which joined those sections in July 1871, agitated for bourgeois reforms in the name of the International. By counterposing themselves to "foreign sections" (German, French, Irish), especially to German Section No. 1 in New York, headed by Friedrich Adolph Sorge, the adherents of Woodhull and Claflin tried to use the International's organisations to their own ends. On September 27, 1871 Section No. 12, bypassing the New York Central Committee, applied directly to the General Council for recognition as the leading section of the International in America. At the same time Section No. 12 carried out a press campaign against the sections of the Association which upheld the proletarian character of the organisation. In its resolution of November 5, 1871 the General Council rejected the demands of Section No. 12 and confirmed the New York Central Committee's power. Even after this, Section No. 12 continued its activities which led to the strengthening of the petty-bourgeois elements in some organisations of the International in the USA and caused a split between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections in December 1871. A Provisional Federal Council, with Sorge and Bolte among its members, and parallel with it Committee No. 2, headed by Woodhull and other bourgeois reformers from Section No. 12, were formed in New York. The General Council resolutely supported the proletarian wing of the North American Federation. Section No. 12 was suspended till the next Congress. On May 28, 1872 the General Council recognised the Provisional Federal Council as the sole leading body of the International in the USA. At the Congress of the North American Federation in July 1872, a permanent Federal Council was elected including nearly all members of the Provisional Council. For details on the causes of the split in the American Federation see Engels' article "The International in America" (pp. 238-43)

p. 235

¹⁹⁰ The reference is to Resolution VI of the Basle Congress on the procedure for expelling sections from the Association, which authorised the General Council to suspend individual sections till the next Congress. p. 236

¹⁹¹ The Appeal of Section No. 12 of August 30, 1871 was published in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* No. 71, September 23, 1871. p. 239

¹⁹² The circular of the Provisional Federal Council of December 4, 1871 was published in the German-language newspaper *New-Yorker Demokrat* on December 9, 1871. p. 241

¹⁹³ The reference is to the anarchist sections which broke off from the Romance Federation. p. 244

¹⁹⁴ The year 1877 marked an upsurge of the working-class struggle against the employers in the USA. The major event was the railwaymen's strike in July 1877 because of a ten-per-cent wage decrease on the three main railway lines running west. The strike was suppressed by government troops. p. 249

¹⁹⁵ See Note 183. p. 259

¹⁹⁶ The reference is to the defeat of the Democratic Party at the elections to Congress in November-December 1866. President Johnson, a Democrat,

pursued a conciliatory policy with the planters of the Southern states and opposed the granting of suffrage to Negroes. As a result the Republicans won two-thirds of the seats in Congress. p. 259

¹⁹⁷ After the Civil War the movement for the legislative introduction of an eight-hour working day in the USA was intensified. Leagues of struggle for the eight-hour working day were set up all over the country.

On June 25, 1868, Congress, unable to ignore the mass movement, passed an Act introducing an eight-hour working day in all state enterprises and federal institutions. p. 260

¹⁹⁸ See Note 187. p. 261

¹⁹⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1974, p. 481 et seqq. p. 264

²⁰⁰ Eccarius was appointed secretary of the General Council for the USA (except the French sections) at the Council sitting on October 2, 1871. p. 265

²⁰¹ The Central Committee of the North American sections asked all the sections to submit to it lists of members giving their occupation and address. In reply Section No. 23 in Washington declared its intention to deal directly with the General Council in London and not with the Central Committee. p. 266

²⁰² See Note 189. p. 266

²⁰³ The reference is to the report of the Central Committee of the North American sections on its work in October 1871. p. 266

²⁰⁴ The reference is to German Section No. 1 in New York, the oldest section of the International in the USA.

Section No. 1 vigorously opposed attempts of bourgeois reformers to use the International organisation in the USA in their own interests and resolutely supported the General Council against the Bakunists, Lassalleans and trade-unionists. p. 267

²⁰⁵ Section No. 23 in Washington declared its intention to deal directly with the General Council in London and not with the Central Committee. p. 267

²⁰⁶ See Note 189. p. 268

²⁰⁷ Eccarius informed the General Council at its sitting on February 20, 1872 that he had dispatched one thousand copies of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations to Gregory, a New York member of the International.

Gregory died in January 1872 and the documents of the International fell into the hands of the petty-bourgeois members of sections Nos. 12 and 9. p. 268

²⁰⁸ The Provisional Federal Council of the North American sections protested against the General Council's appointment of a special secretary for French sections in the USA. In his letter to Marx of March 8, 1872 Sorge wrote that the protest came from Irish members of the International, who were generally opposed to the appointment of secretaries for individual nationalities. p. 268

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- ²⁰⁹ See Note 189. p. 268
- ²¹⁰ See Note 189. p. 269
- ²¹¹ The reference is to an Address of the separatist Federal Council (Committee No. 2) formed by petty-bourgeois elements after the split in the Federation of the International in the USA in December 1871 (see Note 189), which claimed leadership of the whole Federation. The Address was published in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* No. 25, May 4, 1872. For a detailed analysis of the Address see Engels' article "The International in America" (pp. 238-43). p. 269
- ²¹² *Proudhonism*—an anti-Marxist trend in petty-bourgeois socialism named after its ideologist, the French anarchist P. J. Proudhon. His criticism of capitalism was devastating though he sought the remedy not in abolishing the capitalist mode of production but in "correcting" capitalism and eliminating its abuses through reforms. He dreamed of perpetuating petty property ownership and proposed foundation of people's and exchange banks, by which workers would be able to acquire their own means of production, become craftsmen and ensure the "just" marketing of their products. Proudhon did not understand the historical role of the proletariat, opposed the class struggle, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, as an anarchist, denied the need for the state. Marx and Engels waged a persistent and resolute struggle against Proudhon's efforts to impose his views on the First International. The struggle ended in the complete victory of Marxism over Proudhonism. p. 270
- ²¹³ See Note 194. p. 272
- ²¹⁴ The decision to transfer the seat of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association from Europe (London) to the USA (New York) was adopted at the Hague Congress of the International in 1872. p. 272
- ²¹⁵ See Note 194. p. 272
- ²¹⁶ Complying with Marx's request, Sorge, after a long search, obtained for him the *Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for 1876-1877*. Part III. Industrial Statistics. Vol. V, Harrisburg, 1878, which contained valuable statistical data on the mining industry in Pennsylvania. p. 273
- ²¹⁷ The reference is to the strike of Pennsylvanian miners in 1874-75. p. 273
- ²¹⁸ See Note 184. p. 276
- ²¹⁹ The *Alabama affair*—a conflict between the USA and Britain caused by Britain's military aid to the Southern states during the American Civil War in 1861-65. Acting in the interests of its textile manufacturers and seeking to hamper the US industrial development, the British government built and equipped warships for the Southern states which considerably damaged the Northern states' trade. One of these ships was the privateer *Alabama* which sank about seventy Federal ships. After the war the US government demanded of the British government indemnity for all the losses sustained by American citizens through the activity of the *Alabama* and other privateers. The Commission which met in Washington on May 8, 1871 decided to

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- transfer the case to the court of arbitration in Geneva. Under this court's judgment of September 14, 1872 Britain was obliged to pay the USA a sum of \$15,500,000. Britain yielded and obeyed the court's decision in order to secure US non-interference in Irish affairs and cessation of its support for Irish revolutionaries. p. 276
- ²²⁰ The reference is to a miners' and iron and steel workers' strike in Pennsylvania from January 22 to February 26, 1886 in which more than 10 thousand participated. During the strike the workers' demands for higher wages and better working conditions were partially satisfied. p. 281
- ²²¹ This article was published as the preface to the American edition of Engels' work *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* published in New York in May 1887. p. 283
- ²²² The reference is to a series of articles by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling published in the magazine *Time* in 1887. p. 283
- ²²³ The reference is to the slanderous charges made against the British socialist Edward Aveling by the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, which included several Lassalleans. Aveling was accused of submitting forged accounts to the Executive when he was touring America in September-December 1886 for propaganda purposes, with his wife Eleanor (Karl Marx's daughter) and the German socialist Wilhelm Liebknecht. Engels corresponded on this issue for several months and helped Aveling prove the absurdity and slanderous character of these charges. The *Socialist Labor Party of North America* was formed at the Unity Congress in Philadelphia in 1876, by the merger of the American sections of the First International and other socialist organisations in the USA. Most of its members were immigrants (chiefly Germans) who had little contact with the American-born workers. There was a struggle inside the party between the reformist leaders, who were mostly Lassalleans, and the Marxist wing headed by Marx's and Engels' comrade-in-arms Friedrich Adolph Sorge. The party proclaimed as its programme the fight for socialism; but did not become a truly revolutionary Marxist mass party owing to the sectarian policy of its leaders who ignored the need for work in the mass organisations of the American proletariat. p. 283
- ²²⁴ See Note 220. p. 283
- ²²⁵ The reference is to the general strike in the USA which began on May 1, 1886 and continued several days under the slogan of struggle for an eight-hour working day. The strike involved the chief industrial centres—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Louisville, Saint Louis, Milwaukee and Baltimore, and ended with nearly 200,000 workers winning shorter working hours. The employers, however, launched a counter-attack. On May 4 a bomb was thrown at a police squad in Chicago, and the police seized this opportunity to use arms against the workers and arrest several hundreds of people. Court proceedings were instituted and harsh sentences meted out to the leaders of the Chicago working-class movement. Four of them were hanged in November 1887. In the following years the gains of the May 1886 strike were reduced to nought by the capitalists. In commemoration of this strike the International Socialist Workers' Congress held in Paris in 1889 adopted a decision on the annual celebration of May Day by the workers of the world. p. 283

- ²²⁶ During the preparations for the municipal elections in New York in the autumn of 1886, a *United Labor Party* was founded to rally the workers for joint political action. The initiative belonged to the *New York Central Workers' Union*—an association of New York trade unions formed in 1882. Similar parties were organised in many other cities. Led by the new workers' parties, the working class achieved substantial success in the elections in *New York*, *Chicago* and *Milwaukee*: Henry George, the United Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York, received 31 per cent of the votes; in Chicago, the adherents of the Labor Party succeeded in getting ten Party members elected to the Legislative Assembly of the state: one senator and nine members of the Lower Chamber. The Labor Party candidate to the US Congress was short of only 64 votes. In Milwaukee the Labor Party had its candidate elected Mayor of the city, one to the Senate, six to the Lower Chamber of the Legislative Assembly of this state, and one to the US Congress.
p. 284
- ²²⁷ The *Knights of Labor* (*The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor*)—an American workers' organisation founded in Philadelphia in 1869. It was a secret society up to 1878. Its members were mostly unskilled workers, including Negroes. Its aim was the establishment of cooperatives and the organisation of mutual aid, and it took part in a number of working-class actions. But its leaders were in fact opposed to the workers' participation in the political struggle and adopted the class collaboration stand. They opposed the 1886 general strike forbidding its members to take part in it; however, the rank and file joined in the strike. After this it began to lose its influence among the workers and by the end of 1890s it disintegrated.
p. 285

²²⁸ See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (*Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, pp. 497 and 518).
p. 289

²²⁹ This article was written by Engels in English as the preface to the American edition of Marx's speech on free trade in Brussels on January 9, 1848.
p. 291

²³⁰ *Parliamentary trains*—an ironical name given to special third-class trains carrying passengers at a fare not exceeding one penny per mile and a speed of no less than 12 m.p.h., which, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1844, every railway company was obliged to run once daily each way over its system.
p. 292

²³¹ This fragment was written by Engels in the second half of September 1888 on board the steamship *City of New York* on his way back from the USA and Canada. Engels spent more than a month in the USA (from August 17 to September 19) with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Edward Aveling and Carl Schorlemmer. They made a trip from New York to Boston and neighbouring cities, to the Niagara Falls and to Canada via Lake Ontario. Engels intended to write travel notes in which, as can be judged by this fragment and some other notes, he wanted to describe the country's social and political life. This fragment written on a steamer form was only the beginning, and his intention was never realised.
p. 295

²³² See Note 119.
p. 296

²³³ This article was written by Engels between November 9 and 15, 1892 in connection with the advent to power of the Democratic Party whose

nominee Stephen Cleveland was elected president on November 8, 1892 in place of Republican Benjamin Harrison. Engels hoped that the new administration would abrogate the protectionist McKinley Tariff introduced in 1890. This Tariff, introduced to secure high profits primarily for monopolies, greatly increased the duties on imported industrial goods, and this in its turn brought about a rise in prices of consumer goods and worsened the condition of the working class. The Democrats, who during the election campaign opposed the McKinley Tariff Act, introduced in 1894 a new tariff which, though lowering the rates of the 1890 Tariff, was also protectionist.
p. 300

²³⁴ Engels refers to the appendix to the American edition of his work *The Condition of the Working Class in England* which he at first intended as a preface (see pp. 287-82) but then replaced with another in which he described the condition of the working class in America (see pp. 283-90).
p. 301

²³⁵ See Engels' letter to Philip Van Patten of April 18, 1883.
p. 302

²³⁶ Henry George visited England in 1882 and 1884 and agitated for nationalisation of the land by the bourgeois state as a means to settle all the social contradictions of capitalism.
p. 302

²³⁷ The reference is to the annual reports of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Such bureaus were set up under the pressure of the workers' organisations in many states of the USA from 1869 onwards.
p. 304

²³⁸ Engels has in mind Dietzgen's contribution to the American newspapers *Der Sozialist* and *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, organs of the Socialist Labor Party (see Note 223) in which Lassalleans then occupied leading positions. Dietzgen's articles in these newspapers, as Sorge repeatedly informed Engels, were often altered and distorted.
p. 304

²³⁹ See Note 237.
p. 304

²⁴⁰ See Note 238.
p. 305

²⁴¹ Engels has in mind the mass movement for an eight-hour working day which developed in the US major industrial centres in the spring of 1886 and involved about 250 thousand workers. This movement culminated in a general strike and mass demonstrations on May 1, 1886 in which more than 350 thousand workers took part. As a result the demands of nearly 200 thousand workers for an eight-hour working day were satisfied.
p. 305

²⁴² A mass proletarian movement for an eight-hour working day was started in the USA in the spring of 1886. In the first days of May about 65 thousand Chicago workers went on strike. On May 3 six thousand workers of McCormick Harvesting Machine plant gathered at a meeting which was attended also by workers of other enterprises. During the meeting clashes occurred between workers and strike-breakers, the latter supported by the police. The police opened fire, several people were killed and many wounded. Next day a protest meeting was held at Haymarket Square. The police interfered; a bomb was thrown, as it turned out later, by an agent provocateur. The explosion killed seven policemen and four workers. The police opened fire. Several people were killed and over 200 wounded. The authorities used this provocation as a reason to strike a blow at the working-

class movement. Mass arrests were carried out and eight workers' leaders were brought to trial. The case was heard in Chicago from June 21 to October 9, 1886. Seven people were sentenced to death, the sentence for two of them was later commuted to life imprisonment and one committed suicide while in prison, and one to 15 years of hard labour. Despite a widespread campaign in defence of the accused in the USA and a number of European countries, the US Supreme Court refused to revise the sentence and four of them were hanged on November 11, 1887.

p. 306

243 See Note 241.

p. 307

244 The reference is to Engels' work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

p. 307

245 At the end of January 1886 two thousand miners of Decazeville (Southern France) went on strike. The manager of the mines who had refused to listen to the workers' demands was killed at the beginning of the strike by the workers. The government sent troops to Decazeville. The strike continued till mid-June and evoked a broad response in the country.

p. 309

246 See Note 227.

p. 309

247 The reference is to Engels' interview with John T. McEnnis, correspondent of the *Missouri Republican*.

p. 309

248 See Note 223.

p. 309

249 Apparently, Engels has in mind an article by Dietzgen which was published in four issues of the Chicago anarchist newspaper *Arbeiter-Zeitung* early in June 1886.

p. 309

250 Engels has in mind the election of the Mayor of New York on November 2, 1886. Henry George, the United Labor Party candidate, got 68,110, i.e. 31 per cent, of the votes.

On the United Labor Party see Note 226.

p. 310

251 See Note 227.

p. 311

252 See Note 250.

p. 311

253 The *Communist League*—the first international organisation of revolutionary proletariat founded in London early in June 1847. The principles of the League's programme and organisation were worked out with close participation of Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels wrote its programme document—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848. The League existed till November 1852 and was the forerunner of the International Working Men's Association (The First International).

p. 312

254 The *Progressive Party* was founded in June 1861. It demanded the unification of Germany under Prussia, an all-German Parliament and a strong liberal ministry responsible to a chamber of deputies. In 1866, the Right wing broke away to form the National Liberal Party. Unlike the National Liberals the Progressives continued to declare themselves an opposition party even after Germany was unified in 1871, but only in words. Out of fear of the working class and hatred for the socialist movement the Progressive Party reconciled

itself to the rule of the Prussian junkers in semi-absolutist Germany. The vacillating policy pursued by the Party reflected the instability of the commercial bourgeoisie, small industrialists and, to a certain extent, handcraftsmen on whom it relied for support. In March 1884 the Progressives and the Left wing of the National Liberals merged to form the German Freethinking Party.

p. 313

255 See Note 227.

p. 314

256 Engels refers to the following passage in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: 'The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement' (see Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Moscow, 1976, p. 518).

p. 315

257 In September-December 1886 Liebknecht made an agitation tour of the USA to raise election funds for the German Social-Democrats. He was accompanied by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling who joined him on the invitation of the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America. They delivered reports and lectures on the theory and history of socialism, the labour movement in Europe and other subjects.

p. 316

258 See Note 250.

p. 316

259 In November 1886, elections to legislative assemblies of the states were held in the USA. Workers' organisations, which had been formed by that time in a number of big cities, nominated their own candidates, who in some states (Colorado, Texas, Ohio, Illinois among them) won the elections.

p. 316

260 See Note 212.

p. 317

261 Sorge suggested to Engels to ask Florence Kelly-Wischnewetzky to translate the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English for publication in America. This was not done. The English edition of the *Manifesto*, translated by Samuel Moore and edited by Engels, was published in London in 1888.

p. 318

262 See Note 223.

p. 318

263 Engels refers to the following passage on the Socialist Labor Party in his work *The Labor Movement in America*: 'This section is a party but in name, for nowhere in America has it, up to now, been able actually to take its stand as a political party' (see pp. 287-88 of this book).

p. 318

264 Justice No. 164 of March 5, 1887 carried an item entitled "Letter from America.—The Great Strike" by the Socialist Labor Party secretary Rosenberg in which he described the New Jersey longshoremen's strike as an avowed defeat through the fault of the leaders of the Knights of Labor and stressed that the party should not support that organisation.

p. 318

265 The *Central Labor Unions*—organisations uniting trade unions, existed in a number of big industrial cities in the USA in the 1880s; the first of the kind was set up in New York in 1882. Many of them were affiliated to the American Federation of Labor established in December 1886.

p. 318

²⁶⁶ On July 16, 1887 Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky and her husband Doctor Wischnewetzky were expelled from the New York Section of the Socialist Labor Party of North America for the stand they had taken in Edward Aveling's case.

The Wischnewetzkys defended Aveling who was accused by the S.L.P. Executive of excessive expenditure while touring America for propaganda purposes (see also Note 223).

p. 319

²⁶⁷ The reference is to the decision adopted at the Conference of the United Labor Party (the State of New York) in mid-August 1887 to expel the socialists from the party.

p. 319

²⁶⁸ On March 19, 1883 Sorge wrote to Engels that, as Henry George's propaganda in America was causing great harm to the labour movement, Marx's letter to Sorge of June 20, 1881 should be published. This letter contained criticism of Henry George's book *Progress and Poverty* published in New York in 1880.

p. 320

²⁶⁹ See Note 267.

p. 320

²⁷⁰ See Note 250.

p. 320

²⁷¹ The Executive of the Socialist Labor Party made a statement, which was published in the newspaper *Socialist* No. 35, August 27, 1887, in connection with Engels' Note to a separate edition of his article "Labor Movement in America". The statement expressed surprise that a "comrade occupying such a position as Engels" put forward "unfounded accusations against a whole group of people"; it also asserted that no section in the party opposed the Executive on this issue.

p. 320

²⁷² Florence Kelley-Wischnewetzky wrote to Engels that the attitude of the German socialists in New York towards his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* verged on boycott. Engels called the Executive of the Socialist Labor Party of North America, among whose members there were a number of Lassalleans, "the official New York German socialists".

p. 321

²⁷³ The reference is to the Mills Bill on the abolition of taxes on raw materials used in industry and the lowering of import duties on many articles. The Bill was discussed in Congress in 1888, but was not passed.

p. 321

²⁷⁴ The *Anti-Socialist Law* was promulgated by the Bismarck Government with the support of the majority in the Imperial Diet on October 21, 1878, and aimed against the socialist and working-class movement. It outlawed the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. All party organisations, mass workers' organisations and socialist and working-class publications were prohibited, socialist literature confiscated and the Social-Democrats persecuted. The law was extended every two-three years. However, the Social-Democratic Party, actively aided by Marx and Engels, was able to overcome the opportunist and ultra-Left elements in its ranks, and correctly combine illegal work and legal possibilities; as a result the party's influence among the masses grew considerably. Under the pressure of the massive workers' movement the law was abrogated on October 1, 1890.

p. 322

²⁷⁵ See Note 223.

p. 322

²⁷⁶ *Nationalists*—the name given to the representatives of social movement which originated in the late 1880s. They set up for propaganda purposes "nationalist clubs" whose members were mostly bourgeois or petty-bourgeois intellectuals. The first club was established in 1888 in Boston; in 1891 the number of clubs throughout the country reached 160. In 1889 publication of the newspaper *Nationalist* was started in Boston; it advocated nationalisation of production as the sole means of freeing society from the evils of capitalism. The Nationalists' propaganda evoked response from the *Sozialist*, the organ of the Socialist Labor Party of North America.

p. 323

²⁷⁷ See Note 223.

p. 323

²⁷⁸ An allusion to the descent of the English and the English colonists in America from the North Germanic Anglo-Saxon tribes.

p. 324

²⁷⁹ See Note 274.

p. 324

²⁸⁰ See Note 276.

p. 324

²⁸¹ *Fabians*, the *Fabian Society*—a British reformist organisation founded in 1884, its leaders being Sidney and Beatrice Webb. It was thus named after the Roman general Fabius Maximus (3rd cent. B.C.) called the Cunctator (Delayer) for his tactics of evading decisive battle in the war against Hannibal. Most of the Society's members were bourgeois intellectuals; they opposed Marx's teaching of the class struggle and socialist revolution and maintained that the transition from capitalism to socialism could be effected through petty reforms and a gradual transformation of society. In 1900, the Fabian Society was affiliated to the Labour Party.

p. 324

²⁸² Engels has in mind the conflict between the Socialist Labor Party of North America and the American Federation of Labor about which he was informed by Sorge in letters of December 9, 1890 and January 16, 1891, and by Samuel Gompers in a letter of January 9, 1891. The Socialist Labor Party demanded official representation in trade unions. On behalf of the AFL leadership Gompers stated that the Socialist Labor Party, being a political organisation, could not be affiliated to the AFL, and suggested that its individual members should take part in the work of trade unions. Engels considered the Socialist Labor Party leaders' refusal to accept the Federation's proposal and their desire to counterpose the party to the most massive organisation of the American workers of the time as sectarianism which objectively led to an increase of the reformists' influence in the labour movement.

p. 325

²⁸³ See Note 227.

p. 326

²⁸⁴ See Note 233.

p. 326

²⁸⁵ See Note 143.

p. 327

²⁸⁶ The reference is to the activities of the Greenbacks—a political party, composed mostly of farmers, which was formed in the western states in 1876. The Greenback Party opposed the withdrawal from circulation of the greenbacks (green-backed paper money issued during the Civil War) owing to their depreciation. The members of the Greenback Party erroneously considered that the overflow of paper money would bring about a rise in

- prices of agricultural produce. After 1884 the Greenback Party disintegrated.
p. 327
- ²⁸⁷ The reference is to the McKinley Tariff of 1890 (see Note 233). p. 328
- ²⁸⁸ The reference is to the controversy between the advocates of bimetallism and those of gold as standard currency. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act passed on July 14, 1890 required the Treasury to purchase 54 million ounces of silver annually in order to keep the rate of silver exchange with gold at 16:1. This Act notwithstanding, the rate of silver continued to drop and by 1893 was 26.5:1. In the summer of 1893 when a severe crisis set in, President Cleveland summoned an extra session of Congress and proposed the repeal of the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act. On November 1, after a prolonged debate, the Sherman Act was repealed. Engels gave an appraisal of this repeal in his letter to Sorge of December 2, 1893.
p. 331
- ²⁸⁹ In 594 B.C. in an atmosphere of acute struggle between the hereditary aristocracy and the *demos* (people) in ancient Athens, Solon carried out a number of reforms to reorganise the political and economic system of Athens. Most significant of them was one which led to the cancellation of peasants' land debts and prohibited debt bondage. These reforms dealt a blow at the remnants of the tribal system and the rule of the hereditary aristocracy and promoted development of the Athenian slave society.
p. 333
- ²⁹⁰ See Note 233.
p. 333
- ²⁹¹ See Note 288.
p. 334
- ²⁹² This is what Engels called the members of the Socialist Labor Party of North America.
p. 334
- ²⁹³ G.W.F. Hegel, *Wissenschaft der Logik*. In: *Werke*, Bd. IV, Berlin, 2. Aufl., 1841.
p. 334

A

- Adams, Charles Francis* (1807-1886)—American diplomat and Republican politician; envoy to London (1861-68).—103, 120
- Adams, John* (1735-1826)—a leader of the moderate bourgeoisie during the American War of Independence (1775-83); President of the United States (1797-1801).—79
- Allen, George R.*—American radical.—242
- Anderson, Robert* (1805-1871)—officer of the Union army during the American Civil War; garrison commander at Fort Sumter (December 1860-April 1861).—85
- Anneke, Friedrich* (1818-1872)—Prussian artillery officer; member of the Cologne community of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the Union.—186-87, 205
- Annenkov, Pavel Vasil'yevich* (1812-1887)—Russian liberal landowner and man of letters.—68
- Ashburton, Alexander Baring, Baron* (1774-1848)—British banker and diplomat; supported the Tories; associated with US commercial circles.—119
- Astor, William* (1829-1892)—American railroad magnate.—257
- Aveling, Edward* (1851-1898)—English socialist writer; husband of Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor.—283, 307, 310, 314, 315
- B
- Bakunin, Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1814-1876)—Russian revolution-
- ary and writer; ideologist of Narodism and anarchism; for his splitting activities was expelled from the International at its Hague Congress in 1872.—270-71
- Bancroft, George* (1800-1891)—American historian and diplomat, member of the Democratic Party; supported the Union during the Civil War.—124
- Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss* (1816-1894)—American general and Republican politician; Governor of Massachusetts (1858-61); during the Civil War, commanded the Union troops in Virginia (1862) and Louisiana (1862-64).—187-88
- Banks, Theodore*—member of the Central Committee of the North American sections of the International (1871).—242
- Barton, John* (late 18th-first half of 19th cent.)—English economist.—224
- Bastiat, Frédéric* (1801-1850)—French economist; preached harmony of class interests in bourgeois society.—65, 67
- Bäumler, Joseph Michael* (c. 1778-1853)—German clergyman; emigrated to the USA in 1817 and founded a communist colony at Zoar (Ohio).—38-39
- Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant* (1818-1893)—American general; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48); during the Civil War, commanded the Confederate troops in the states of Virginia (1861-early 1862) and Mississippi (1862), and in Charleston (September 1862-April 1864).—85, 110, 140, 144, 146, 148, 182-83, 184, 201, 204, 209
- Bebel, August* (1840-1913)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the First Inter-

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national; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—277, 302, 308
Becker, Max Joseph (d. 1896)—petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the Baden-Palatinate uprising of 1849; after its defeat emigrated first to Switzerland and then to the USA.—69

Bennett, James Gordon (1795-1872)—American journalist, supporter of the Democratic Party; founded and published *The New-York Herald*; during the Civil War, championed a policy of compromise with the Southern slave-owners.—129, 163

Bernstein, Eduard (1850-1932)—German Social-Democratic writer; openly advocated revision of Marxism from reformist positions after Engels' death in 1895.—276, 306

Berry, Hiram George (1824-1863)—general of the Union army during the American Civil War, brigade commander in the Potomac army (1862-early 1863).—145

Birney, David Bell (1825-1864)—American general, abolitionist; brigade commander in the Union Potomac army during the Civil War in 1862.—145

Bismarck, Otto, Prince (1815-1898)—Prussian and German statesman and diplomat; First Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); forcibly united Germany under Prussian domination; introduced the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—312

Bolte, Friedrich—German-born American working-class leader; secretary of the Federal Council of the North American sections of the International (1872) and member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872-74).—266, 268

Bonaparte I—see *Napoleon I Bonaparte*

Bonaparte, Joseph (1768-1844)—Napoleon I's eldest brother, King of Naples (1806-08) and of Spain (1808-13).—166

Bonaparte, Louis—see *Napoleon III*

Booth, John Wilkes (1839-1865)—American actor; supporter of the Confederacy during the Civil War; assassin of Abraham Lincoln.—170

Börnstein, Heinrich (1805-1892)—German journalist; emigrated to the USA in 1849; fought in the Union forces in the Civil War.—176

Bragg, Braxton (1817-1876)—American general; during the Civil War, commanded the Confederate forces in Kentucky (1862).—157, 160, 200

Breckinridge, John Cabell (1821-1875)—American statesman; member of the Democratic Party; a leader of the Southern slave-owners' revolt; Vice-President (1857-61); Presidential candidate at the 1860 elections; general and Secretary of War (1865) of the Confederacy during the Civil War.—86, 91, 96-97, 149, 189

Bright, John (1811-1889)—English manufacturer; a free-trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; led the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s onwards; held portfolios in several Liberal cabinets.—116

Brown, John (1800-1859)—American farmer; prominent figure in the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; fought against the slave-owners in Kansas (1854-56); for an abortive attempt to raise a revolt of Virginian Negro slaves in 1859 he was tried and executed.—74, 81

Brownson, Orestes Augustus (1803-1876)—American theologian; member of the Democratic Party; published a Catholic journal first in Boston and later in New York; during the Civil War advocated the preservation of the Union.—100

Bruce, J. P.—160
Brutus, Marcus Junius (c. 85-42 B.C.)—Roman politician; one of the organisers of the republican aristocrats' conspiracy against Julius Caesar.—140

Buchanan, James (1791-1868)—American statesman; member of the

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Democratic Party; Secretary of State (1845-49); envoy to London (1853-56); President of the United States (1857-61).—86, 88, 89, 96, 100, 101, 126, 129, 130, 161, 173, 179

Buckingham, James Silk (1786-1855)—English writer, M.P.—40

Buell, Don Carlos (1818-1898)—American general; commanded Union army in Tennessee and Kentucky (1862).—127, 132, 135, 157, 182

Burnside, Ambrose Everett (1824-1881)—American general, Republican; during the Civil War, commanded the Union Potomac army (November 1862-January 1863).—124, 167, 196-97

Butler, Benjamin Franklin (1818-1893)—a Left-wing leader of the Republican Party; a Union general during the Civil War; commanded the expeditionary force which captured New Orleans; military governor of New Orleans (1862).—127, 200-01

C

Calhoun, John Caldwell (1782-1850)—American statesman; the Democratic Party leader.—81, 90

Cameron, Simon (1799-1889)—American Republican politician; Secretary of War (1861-January 1862).—122, 125, 127, 129

Campbell.—108

Cannon, John—American military author.—265

Carey, Henry Charles (1793-1879)—American economist, preached the theory of harmony of class interests in capitalist society.—64-66, 70-72, 260, 262-64

Cass, Lewis (1782-1866)—American statesman, general and diplomat; Democrat; Secretary of War (1831-36) and of State (1857-60); in the Civil War, championed preservation of the Union.—100

Cato, Marcus Porcius, The Younger (95-46 B.C.)—Roman statesman; headed the aristocratic republican party.—146, 185

Chernyshev, Alexander Ivanovich (1786-1857)—Russian general and statesman; took part in the wars against Napoleonic France; Minister for War (1828-52).—146, 185

Christensen, P.—Danish Social-Democrat.—322

Claflin, Tennessee (1845-1923)—American feminist; sought to use the International in the USA to further her own aims; together with her sister, Victoria Woodhull, published the newspaper *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*.—238, 269

Clausewitz, Karl von (1780-1831)—Prussian general and author of works on military strategy.—182

Clemenceau, Georges Benjamin (1841-1929)—French politician and writer; leader of the Radical Party from the 1880s onwards.—313

Cleveland, Stephen Grover (1837-1908)—President of the United States (1885-89 and 1893-97).—331

Cobb, Howell (1815-1868)—American Democratic statesman; Governor of Georgia (1852-53) and Secretary of the Treasury (1857-60) under Buchanan; took part in the Southern slave-owners' revolt.—179

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—English manufacturer; a free-trade leader and founder of the Anti-Corn Law League; M.P.—116

Cochrane, John (1813-1898)—American army officer and politician; Left-wing Republican; fought in the Union army during the Civil War.—122, 124

Collins, John Anderson (1810-1879)—English utopian socialist; emigrated to the USA and founded a communist colony in Skaneateles (New York State) in 1843.—41

Colomb, Friedrich August (1775-1854)—Prussian army officer; fought in the rank of general in the war against Napoleonic France.—146, 185

Conze, Alexander—German-born

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American from Milwaukee; corresponded with Hermann Kriege.—44

Cooper, Thomas (1759-1839)—American economist and politician.—47

Crocker, Charles (1822-1888)—American railroad owner.—257

Cromwell, Oliver (1599-1658)—leader of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisified gentry in the English revolution.—128

Croswell, Edwin (1797-1871)—American journalist; a leader of the Democratic Party in the State of New York in the 1830s and 1840s; retired from political activity in the mid-1850s.—122

Cunard, Samuel (1787-1865)—English shipowner, founder of the Cunard Atlantic steamship line.—107

Curtis, Samuel Ryan (1805-1866)—American general and Republican politician; commanded Union troops in Missouri and Arkansas (1861-62) during the Civil War.—81, 148, 187-88

D

Dana, Charles Anderson (1819-1897)—American journalist.—73

Danielson, Nikolai Frantsevich (1844-1918)—Russian economist; ideologist of Narodism in the 1880s and 1890s; corresponded with Marx and Engels for several years.—273-74, 275, 326, 330, 332

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889)—member of the American Democratic Party; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48); an organiser of the Southern slave-owners' revolt; President of the Confederacy (1861-65).—81, 96, 121, 124, 146, 152, 155, 161-62, 170, 178, 195, 202, 209

Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.)—Greek orator and politician; leader of the anti-Macedonian party in Athens.—102

Dickinson, Daniel Stevens (1800-1866)—American lawyer and pol-

itician; a leader of the Democratic Party in the 1840s; supported the Union in the Civil War.—122

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888)—German Social-Democrat and self-taught philosopher; arrived independently at the fundamentals of dialectical materialism.—304, 305, 309

Dillon, Sidney (1812-1892)—American millionaire, railroad owner and financier.—257

Disraeli, Benjamin, First Earl of Beaconsfield from 1871 (1804-1881)—British statesman and author; a Tory leader and leader of the Conservative Party in the second half of the nineteenth century.—120

Dix, John Adams (1798-1879)—American general and politician, member of the Democratic Party of the North; in the Civil War, commanded the Union troops in Virginia (1861).—122

Douglas, Stephen Arnold (1813-1861)—American politician, a leader of the Democratic Party of the North, advocated a compromise with the slave-owners.—80, 86, 88, 89, 91

Dows, David (1814-1890)—financier.—257

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—French worker, prominent figure in the international working-class movement; comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels; emigrated to the USA in 1874.—267

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to all the congresses and conferences of the International.—265-66, 267, 268, 269

Elliott, John—American petty-bourgeois democrat; member of the International.—270

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Emery (19th cent.)—American inventor and businessman.—223

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Engels, Hermann (1822-1905)—brother of Frederick Engels; Barmen factory owner.—203

Engels, Rudolf (1831-1903)—brother of Frederick Engels; Barmen factory owner.—206

Ericsson, John (1803-1889)—Swedish-born American engineer and inventor; builder of the first ironclad warship.—159

Essex, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of (1591-1646)—English general and politician; commander-in-chief of the army of Parliament (1642-45) during the English revolution.—127-28

Eustis, George (1828-1872)—American diplomat; John Slidell's secretary.—103

F

Fair, James Graham (1831-1894)—American businessman and politician.—257

Farragut, David Glasgow (1801-1870)—American naval officer; during the Civil War, commanded a squadron of the Union forces which captured New Orleans (April 1862) and Mobile (August 1864).—140, 202

F. E.—see *Engels, Frederick*

Field, Cyrus West (1819-1892)—founder of the Atlantic Telegraphic Company, which laid a transatlantic cable between America and England.—257

Finch, John—English traveller and journalist; follower of Robert Owen.—34, 37, 39

Floyd, John Buchanan (1807-1863)—Governor of the State of Virginia (1850-53); Secretary of War (1857-60); served the Confederacy in the Civil War.—135, 161, 179, 195

Foster, Rachel—American public figure.—308

Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790)—

American politician, physicist and economist; took part in the American War of Independence.—60, 61

Franklin, William Buel (1823-1903)—American general; fought for the Union in the Civil War; commanded two corps at the battle of Fredericksburg (1862).—197

Frémont, John Charles (1813-1890)—American politician; Presidential candidate (1856); during the Civil War, commanded Union troops in the States of Missouri (up to November 1861) and Virginia (1862).—80, 89, 99-102, 122, 124, 129, 181, 183, 187-88

Friedrich Karl, Prince (1828-1885)—Prussian general; commander-in-chief of the allied army in the Danish war of 1864.—205, 207

G

Garrett, John Work (1820-1884)—railroad proprietor and banker.—257

Garrison, William Lloyd (1805-1879)—American journalist and public figure; a leader of the abolitionist movement; founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1833).—151

George, Henry (1839-1897)—American economist and writer; advocated nationalisation of the land by the bourgeois state as a means to solve all social contradictions of the capitalist system; tried to direct the American labour movement onto the path of bourgeois reformism.—285-87, 302, 310-15, 319-20

Gérard, Balthasar (1558-1584)—Catholic fanatic; in 1584 assassinated William I, Prince of Orange, who had played a prominent part in the bourgeois revolution in the Netherlands.—170

Gibson, Thomas Milner (1806-1884)—a free-trade leader and subsequently a Liberal; President of the Board of Trade (1859-65 and 1865-66).—116, 120

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Ginal—German Philadelphia clergyman; founded a communist colony in Pennsylvania.—41

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman; leader of the Liberal Party.—116, 120, 162

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924)—a founder of the American Federation of Labor (1886) and its permanent President.—325

Gould, Jay (1836-1892)—American financier and railroad owner.—257, 276

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885)—American general and statesman; member of the Republican Party; commanded the Union forces in Kentucky and Tennessee (1861-62); commander-in-chief (from March 1864); Secretary of War (1867-68); President of the United States (1869-77).—134, 135, 182, 199, 200-02, 204, 207-10, 265

Greeley, Horace (1811-1872)—American journalist and politician; founder and editor of the *New-York Daily Tribune*.—73

Gregory, I.W. (d. 1872)—American petty-bourgeois democrat; supported the feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin.—268

Grosse, Eduard—German émigré in the USA; Lassalleen; member of the First International.—243, 269

Guthrie, James (1792-1869)—American businessman; member of the Democratic Party; Secretary of the Treasury (1853-57) under Pierce; supported a compromise with the Southern slave-owners.—180

H

Hales, John (b. 1839)—a leader of the English trade union movement; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its secretary (1871-72).—268

Halleck, Henry Wager (1815-1872)—American general, moderate Republican; during the Civil War,

commanded the Missouri military district (November 1861-March 1862) and the Mississippi army (March-July 1862); commander-in-chief of the Union army (July 1862-March 1864).—122, 127, 129, 132, 134-35, 140, 146, 148, 165, 182, 186-88, 192

Hansbrow (19th cent.)—American inventor.—224

Hardee, William Joseph (1815-1873)—American general; fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War.—209

Harney, George Julian (1817-1897)—a Left-wing Chartist leader; lived in the USA intermittently from 1862 to 1888; member of the First International; maintained friendly relations with Marx and Engels.—273

Hayes (19th cent.)—American inventor.—224

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822-1893)—member of the Republican Party, President of the United States (March 1877-March 1881).—272

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—classical German philosopher, objective idealist, most-consistent proponent of idealist dialectics.—156, 334

Heintzelman, Samuel Peter (1805-1880)—American general; served the Union in the Civil War; corps commander in the Potomac army (1862).—145-46

Heinzen, Karl (1809-1880)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to the USA in 1850.—47, 70, 71, 336

Huntington, Collis Potter (1821-1900)—American railroad proprietor.—257

Hizby, E.L.—owner of ironworks in Pittsburgh (Ohio).—41

Home, Daniel Douglas (1833-1886)—English spiritualist.—269

Hood, John Bell (1831-1879)—American general; commander of Confederate troops in the Civil War.—204-06

Hooker, Joseph (1814-1879)—American abolitionist general; member

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of the Republican Party; in the Civil War, corps commander (1862) and then commander (January-June 1863) of the whole of the Union Potomac army.—166-67, 192, 196, 199

Hume, Robert William—American radical.—242

Hunt, Thomas—English socialist; founded a communist colony in Wisconsin.—41

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921)—British socialist, reformist; founder (1881) and leader of the Democratic Federation, which became the Social Democratic Federation in 1884; pursued an opportunist and sectarian policy in the labour movement.—325, 336

I

Isabella II (1830-1904)—Queen of Spain (1833-68).—125

Ives, Malcolm—American journalist; member of the Democratic Party; contributor to *The New-York Herald* from the late 1850s onwards.—129

J

Jackson, Andrew (1767-1845)—American general; founder of the Democratic Party (1828); President of the United States (1829-37).—82, 85, 101

Jackson, Clairborne Fox (1806-1862)—American Democratic politician; Governor of Missouri (1860-61).—95

Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (1824-1863)—American general; in the Civil War, commanded the Confederate forces in Virginia (1861-63); was nicknamed Stonewall after the battle of Bull Run (July 1861).—148, 155, 188, 190-92

Jameson, Charles Davis (1827-1862)—American general, during the Civil War, commanded a brigade of the Union Potomac army (1861-62).—145

Jancey, William Lowndes (1814-1863)—American politician; member of the Democratic Party of the South; representative of the Confederacy in London (1861-62).—105

Jefferson, Thomas (1743-1826)—American enlightener; ideologist of democratic bourgeoisie during the War of Independence (1775-83); author of the Declaration of Independence (1776); President of the United States (1801-09).—79, 80, 86, 104, 152

Jennison—American officer, abolitionist; Union colonel in the Civil War.—122

Jessup, William J.—a leader of the New York Labor Union; favoured joining the International.—260, 267

Jewett, Hugh Judge (c. 1812-1898)—banker and industrialist, president of several railroad companies.—257

Johnson, Andrew (1808-1875)—American statesman; member of the Democratic Party; Governor of Tennessee (1853-57 and 1862-65); Senator; sided with the Union in the Civil War; Vice-President (1864-April 1865) and President (1865-69) of the United States; pursued a policy of agreement with the Southern planters.—95, 170-71, 210-11, 259

Johnson, Samuel (1709-1784)—English lexicographer and author.—115

Johnston, Alexander Keith (1804-1871)—British traveller, geographer and cartographer.—70

Johnston, James Finlay Weir (1796-1855)—British chemist, author of several works on agricultural chemistry.—70, 219, 262

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston (1807-1891)—American general; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48); in the Civil War, commanded Confederate troops in Virginia (1861-62) and then in Tennessee and Mississippi.—181, 210

Joinville, Francois Ferdinand d'Orléans, Prince de (1818-1900)—

son of Louis Philippe, King of France; fought in the American Civil War in the Union army (1861-62).-83

Jones, Richard (1790-1855)-British economist.-71

Juárez, Benito Pablo (1806-1872)-Mexican statesman; fought for the national independence of his country; President of Mexico (1861-65 and 1867-72).-125

K

Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938)-German Social-Democrat, writer and editor of the journal *Neue Zeit*; sided with Marxism in the 1880s; subsequently became an opportunist and ideologist of Centrism in the German Social-Democratic Party and in the Second International.-335

Kearny, Philip (1814-1862)-American general; in the Civil War, commanded troops in the Union Potomac army (1861-62).-145, 166

Keene, James Robert (1838-1913)-American financier.-257

Kelley-Wischnewetzky, Florence (1859-1932)-American socialist; translated into English Engels' *Condition of the Working-Class in England*; Lazar Wischnewetzky's wife.-283, 303-04, 307, 313, 316-19, 321

Kellogg, Edward (1790-1858)-American economist; author of several works on finance.-331

Kent, James (1763-1847)-American lawyer and politician.-104, 114

K.M.-see Marx, Karl

Kossuth, Lajos (1802-1894)-leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement and of the 1848-49 revolution in Hungary; emigrated after the defeat of the revolution; sought support among the Bonapartists in the 1850s.-209

Krieger, Hermann (1820-1850)-German journalist, "true socialist"; headed a group of German "true

socialists" in New York in the second half of the 1840s; editor of the *Volks-Tribune*.-44-45

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1830-1902)-German Social-Democrat; member of the First International; a friend of Marx and Engels; was in permanent correspondence with Marx between 1862 and 1874, informing him about the state of affairs in Germany.-259, 261, 270

L

Lafargue, François (d. 1870 or 1871)-Paul Lafargue's father.-259

Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911)-Karl Marx's second daughter, prominent figure in the French working-class movement; Paul Lafargue's wife.-306, 310, 315

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)-prominent figure in the French and international working-class movement, propagandist of Marxism; member of the General Council of the First International; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.-269, 306, 310

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)-German petty-bourgeois writer; joined the working-class movement in the early 1860s; in 1863 founded the General Association of German Workers; supported the policy of unifying Germany from above under Prussian hegemony; initiated an opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.-75, 269, 322, 336

Lee, Robert Edward (1807-1870)-American general; took part in putting down John Brown's rebellion (1859); in the Civil War, commanded the Confederate army in Virginia (1862-65); commander-in-chief of the Confederate army (February-April 1865).-157, 198, 200-01, 203-09, 265

Leon or Müller, Bernhard, Count-German settler in America; founded the New Jerusalem colo-

ny in Phillipsburg in the early 1830s.-37

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871)-French petty-bourgeois writer; utopian and Christian socialist.-317

Levingood.-160

Lewis, George Cornwall (1806-1863)-British statesman, Whig; Home Secretary (1859-61) and Secretary of State for War (1861-63).-116, 120

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)-German chemist, one of the founders of agricultural chemistry.-70

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)-prominent leader in the German and international working-class movement; member of the Communist League and of the First International; carried on a struggle against Lassalleianism for the International's principles in the German working-class movement; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.-269, 306, 310

Lievre, Eugène-French petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to the USA; supported Hermann Krieger in the 1840s.-69

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)-American statesman; a Republican Party leader; President of the United States (1861-65); assassinated by an agent of the slave-owners in April 1865.-79, 85-86, 92, 99-102, 126-29, 139, 146-56, 159, 164-65, 167-71, 173, 176, 178, 188, 190, 192-93, 195, 199, 202, 208, 210, 228

Longstreet, James (1821-1904)-American general; commanded Confederate troops in the Civil War.-206

Louis XIII (1601-1643)-King of France (1610-43).-101

Louis XIV (1638-1715)-King of France (1643-1715).-275

Louis XV (1710-1774)-King of France (1715-74).-265

Louis XVI (1754-1793)-King of France (1774-92); executed during the French Revolution.-196

Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Comte de Paris (1838-1894)-grandson of Louis Philippe, King of France; took part in the American Civil War on the side of the Union (1861-62).-83

Lovell, Mansfield (1822-1884)-American general; served the Confederacy in the Civil War; New Orleans garrison commander (1861-April 1862).-140

Lucian (c. 120-c. 180)-Greek satirist, atheist.-146, 185

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)-founder of Protestantism (Lutheranism) in Germany; ideologist of the German burghers.-36, 38

Lützow, Adolf, Baron von (1782-1834)-Prussian army officer, later general; fought in the wars against Napoleonic France.-146, 185

M

Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800-1859)-English historian and politician; Whig, M.P.-127

McClellan, George Brinton (1826-1885)-American general; close to the Democratic Party; favoured compromise with the Southern slave-owners; commander-in-chief of the Union army (November 1861-March 1862) and commander of the Potomac army (March-November 1862); Presidential candidate (1864).-110, 127-29, 136, 144-46, 148-49, 151-53, 164-67, 181, 183-84, 187-89, 191-92, 195-97, 203

McCook, Alexander McDowell (1831-1903)-American general; served the Union in the Civil War; corps commander in Kentucky (1862).-157

Mccormick, Cyrus Hall (1809-1884)-American inventor.-224

McCulloch, John Ramsay (1789-1864)-British economist; vulgarised Ricardo's economic teaching.-71

McDowell, Irvin (1818-1885)-American general; in the Civil War,

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commanded Union troops in Virginia (1861-62).-183, 187-88
McEnnis, J. T.—correspondent of the *Missouri Republican* in Saint Louis.-309

MacFarland—American diplomat; James Murray Mason's secretary.-103

McGlynn, Edward (1837-1900)—American Catholic clergyman; supporter of Henry George and a leader of the United Labor Party (1886-87), for which he was excommunicated; subsequently dissociated himself from George and in 1888-89 was the only leader of the party.-319

Mackay, Charles (1814-1889)—English poet and journalist; special correspondent of *The Times* in New York (1862-65).-197-98

Mackay, John William (1831-1902)—industrialist and banker, owner of silver mines.-257

McKinley, William (1843-1901)—a Republican Party leader; several times Congressman from 1877 onwards; introduced a law increasing customs duties (1890); President of the United States (1897-1901).-300, 326, 334

Maddock or Madox, G. W.—American radical.-242, 270

Madison, James (1751-1836)—American statesman; played a prominent part in the American War of Independence (1775-83); Secretary of State (1801-09) and President of the USA (1809-17).-119

Magoffin, Beriah (1815-1885)—American lawyer and politician; member of the Democratic Party of the South; Governor of Kentucky (1859-62).-96

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist; member of the First International, of the Central Committee of the National Guard, and of the Paris Commune; after the suppression of the Commune, emigrated to Italy and later to Switzerland, where he sided with the anarchists.-269

Mathus, Thomas Robert (1766-

1834)—English clergyman and economist; author of a misanthropic population theory.-71, 220

Mann, Ambrose Dudley (1801-1889)—American diplomat; Confederate envoy to London (1861-62).-105

Marquez, Leonardo (born c. 1820)—Mexican general; a Conservative Party leader; one of the leaders of a rebellion against the Liberal government.-125

Martineau, Harriet (1802-1876)—English author; propagated Malthusianism.-40

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)-47, 244-45, 260, 269, 271, 278, 286, 289-91, 308, 317-18, 320, 325, 329, 334

Marx-Aveling, Eleanor (1855-1898)—Marx's youngest daughter; prominent in the English and international labour movement; Edward Aveling's wife.-200, 283, 310, 314-15

Mason, James Murray (1798-1871)—American politician; chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations; was sent by the Confederacy on a diplomatic mission to England in 1861.-103-04, 106-07, 115, 117

Maynard—American army officer; Confederate agent during the Civil War.-128, 181

Melish, John (1771-1822)—English author, geographer and traveller; visited and described communist colonies in North America.-40

Menill.-145

Meredith, William Morris (1799-1873)—American lawyer and statesman.-47

Merivale, Herman (1806-1874)—English economist and Liberal statesman.-159

Metternich, Klemens, Prince (1773-1859)—Austrian statesman and diplomat; an organiser of the Holy Alliance.-70

Meyer, Hermann (1821-1875)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; emigrated to the USA in 1852; in the 1850s and

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early 1860s, led the struggle in Alabama to free the Negroes from slavery, helped to organise sections of the International in Saint Louis.-260

Meyer, Siegfried (c. 1840-1872)—prominent figure in the German and American working-class movement, socialist; in 1866, emigrated to the USA where he organised sections of the International.-260, 267

Mill, James (1773-1836)—English economist and philosopher; vulgarised David Ricardo's theory.-71

Millot, T.—French émigré, member of the Central Committee of the International's North American sections.-242

Mills, Darius Ogden (1825-1910)—American banker.-257

Mills, Roger Quarles (1832-1911)—American statesman; member of the Democratic Party.-321

Mitchel, Ormsby Macknight (1809-1862)—American astronomer; Union general in the Civil War.-140, 186

Monk (Monck), George (1608-1670)—English general; a prominent figure at the time of the English revolution; instrumental in the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.-197

Moore, Samuel (c. 1830-1912)—English lawyer; member of the First International; translated the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* into English.-318

Morgan, Edwin Denison (1811-1883)—American Republican politician and financier.-257

Morgan, John Hunt (1825-1864)—American army officer; participated in the war against Mexico (1846-48) and in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy.-157

Morrill, Justin Smith (1810-1898)—author of the law on the protectionist tariff (1861); member of the Republican Party; Congressman (1855-67).-82, 84, 186

Most, Johann (1846-1906)—German anarchist; joined the working-class

movement in the 1860s; in 1882, emigrated to the USA, where he continued his anarchist propaganda.-302

N

Napier, William Francis Patrick (1785-1860)—British general and military historian; fought in the Peninsular war (1808-14).-110

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).-110, 131, 166, 196

Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Republic (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).-58, 113, 120, 164, 178

Navarro, J.D.-257

Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela (1846-1919)—a founder of the Social-Democratic Party of the Netherlands.-315

Niles, Hezekiah (1777-1839)—American journalist, publisher of the *Niles' Weekly Register*.-47

O

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—a founder and leader of the Irish Fenian Society; in the early 1870s, emigrated to the USA, where he headed the Fenian Brotherhood; withdrew from politics in the 1880s.-276

Oldham, Williamson Simpson (1813-1868)—American lawyer and Democratic politician; took an active part in the Southern slave-owners' revolt; Congressman of the Confederacy.-161, 195

Opdyke, George (1805-1880)—American industrialist and economist; Mayor of New York (1862-63).-198

d'Orléans, Princes—see *Joinville, François Ferdinand d'Orléans, Prince de; Louis Philippe Albert d'Orléans, Comte de Paris; Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres*

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.-37

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P

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman; Tory at the beginning of his career, and a Right-wing leader of the Whigs from 1830 onwards; several times held the portfolios of Foreign Secretary and Home Secretary; Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—113-16, 118-21, 126

Patterson, Robert (1792-1881)—American merchant and businessman; Union general at the beginning of the Civil War; removed from command after the battle of Bull Run (July 1861).—128

Peirce, Ebenezer Weaver (b. 1822)—American general; served the Union in the Civil War; commander of troops in Virginia (1861-62).—175

Philip II (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—170

Philips, Lion (d. 1866)—Dutch merchant; Karl Marx's uncle on his mother's side.—172, 205

Phillimore, Robert Joseph (1810-1885)—English lawyer specialising in international law.—114-15

Phillips, Wendell (1811-1884)—American public figure and politician; a leader of the revolutionary wing of the abolitionist movement; President of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1865-70).—151

Pierce, Franklin (1804-1869)—American statesman, member of the Democratic Party; President of the United States (1853-57).—101, 129, 180

Pindar (c. 522-443 B.C.)—Greek poet, famous for his solemn odes.—156

Pitkeithley, Lawrence—British traveller; in the early 1840s, visited and described a communist colony of Shakers (New York State).—36

Pitt, William (called "the Younger") (1759-1806)—British statesman; a Tory leader; Prime Minister (1783-1801 and 1804-06).—190, 193

R

Rapp, Johann Georg (1757-1847)—German preacher; founded several communist colonies in North America.—36-39

Reno, Jesse Lee (1823-1862)—American general; during the Civil War, commanded the Union corps in Virginia and Maryland (1862).—166

Reuter, Paul Julius von (1816-1899)—founder of Reuter's News Agency in London (1851).—198

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Ripley, George (1802-1880)—American clergyman; founded a colony and school at Brook Farm (Massachusetts) in 1842.—41

Ripley, Roswell Sabine (1823-1887)—American army officer and author of works on military subjects; fought in the war against Mexico (1846-48) and wrote a book on its history; became a general in 1861.—72, 175

Robert Philippe Louis Eugène Ferdinand d'Orléans, Duc de Chartres (1840-1910)—grandson of Louis Philippe, King of the French; fought in the American Civil War on the side of the Union (1861-62).—83

Rockefeller, John Davison (1839-1937)—American oil magnate.—257

Rosecrans, William Starke (1819-1898)—American general; during the Civil War, commanded Union troops in the States of Mississippi and Tennessee (1862-63).—158, 199

Roselius, Christian (1803-1873)—American lawyer and politician; American Whig; championed preservation of the Union.—97

Rosenberg, Wilhelm Ludwig (b. 1850)—German-born American socialist; journalist; in the 1880s, secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of North America; leader of the party's Lassalleian faction; expelled from the party with a group of Lassalleans in 1889.—318, 323

Rothschilds—dynasty of financiers, owning banks in many countries.—257

Russell, John (1792-1878)—British statesman; Whig leader; Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66); Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—93, 120

Russell, William Howard (1820-1907)—English journalist; correspondent of *The Times* in Washington

(1861-62).—124

S

Sage, Russell (1816-1906)—American railroad proprietor; Congressman (1853-57).—257

Sanial, Lucien Delabar (b. 1835)—American socialist; edited and published several socialist newspapers.—336

Santa Anna or Ana, Antonio Lopez de (c. 1797-1876)—Mexican general and politician; dictator of Mexico; commander-in-chief of the Mexican Army during the American-Mexican war (1846-48).—73

Say, Jean Baptiste (1767-1832)—French vulgar economist.—71

Schlüter, Hermann (d. 1919)—German Social-Democrat; emigrated to the USA (1889), where he took part in the socialist movement.—311, 323-24, 328, 334-35

Schmidt, Conrad (1863-1932)—German economist and philosopher.—322

Schurz, Carl (1829-1906)—German writer; petty-bourgeois democrat; emigrated to the USA; took part in the Civil War on the side of the Union.—205

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist von (1834-1875)—President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); follower of Ferdinand Lassalle; sought to prevent the German workers from joining the International.—240, 243, 269

Scott, Dred (c. 1795-1858)—American Negro slave; in 1848-57 made fruitless appeals to US courts to obtain his freedom from slavery.—80, 87

Scott, William, Baron Stowell (1745-1836)—English lawyer specialising in international maritime law; member of the Admiralty Court (1798-1828); Tory.—104, 114

Scott, Winfield (1786-1866)—American general; fought in the Anglo-

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- Seddon, James Alexander* (1815-1880)—American Democratic statesman; during the Civil War, Confederate Secretary of War (1862-65).—203
- Senior, Nassau William* (1790-1864)—English vulgar economist.—71
- Seward, Frederick William* (1830-1915)—American journalist and diplomat; son of William Henry Seward.—170
- Seward, William Henry* (1801-1872)—American statesman; Right-wing Republican leader; Senator, Presidential candidate (1860); Secretary of State (1861-69).—101-02, 105, 126, 170, 199
- Seymour, Horatio* (1810-1886)—American politician; a leader of the Democratic Party of the North; Governor of New York State (1853-55 and 1863-65); favoured a compromise with the Southern slave-owners during the Civil War.—163, 165
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Count* (1801-1885)—English politician.—79
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- Sherman, Thomas West* (1813-1879)—American general; during the Civil War, commanded the Union expeditionary army in South Carolina and Florida (October 1861-March 1862).—122, 127, 183, 202
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